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COLUMNS OF THE SUN-TEMPLE AT BAALBEK.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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MILESTONES IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: OR TENT TEMPLE, TABERNACLE, SYNAGOGUE, AND CHURCH.

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IT is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the question, What was the earliest form of religion, whether fetichism, or animism or nature worship, or something different from any of these. Only this much may be premised, that it is dangerous to be dogmatic as to the prior claims of any one to the exclusion of the rest. In the study men may outline the course which religious ideas and practices might be expected to take, but in actual life human beings combine many and even conflicting ideas at the same time. Hegel may project a science of history; but neither individuals nor communities feel called upon to consult the philosopher before they act. However religion arose, it exists now, and from a very early period it has existed

Nor is it my intention in this discussion to argue the question whether all religions are due to a primitive revelation; the false religions being therefore corruptions of the true. Dr. Edkins, in his book, *The Early Spread of Religious Ideas, especially in the Far East*, answers the question in the affirmative, as did the majority of theologians in former times. Most modern students

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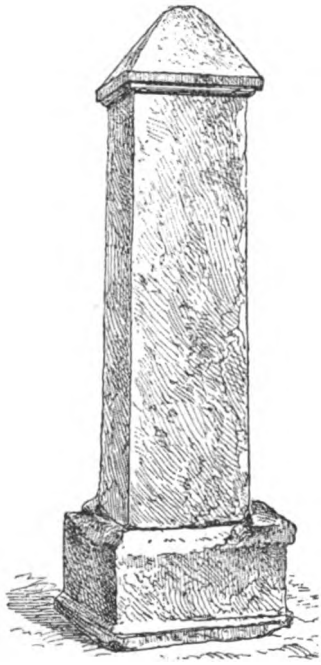
of anthropology and of the science and history of religion, and a growing number of theologians, are of the opinion that at the first religion was in a very nebulous and corrupt condition; that, as was the case in intellectual and moral conceptions, so likewise in religion, man's ideas advanced from lower to higher, and from higher to ever higher developments.



PHŒNICIAN *MASSEBAH.*

If this last view be the right one, and the Bible is to be believed, its early narratives must not be understood literally; rather are they to be regarded as teaching through the channel of allegories the truth that ultimately all religion is of God; the *fact* of its divine origin, and not the *method* of its inculcation being the most essential matter.

Since W. Robertson Smith wrote his *Religion of the Semites* (1889), which has appeared in a second edition, the view learnedly advocated by him has been largely held among historians of religion. This view is that the religion of the common Semitic people was originally tribal, each tribe worshiping a god of its own, some ancestor or some animal, called its totem. No member of one clan recognized the god of another. Jehovah himself began by being first of all a tribal deity, the God, that is, of the race descended from Jacob. That the worship of the true God should have been introduced in the way of Semitic habits of thought, that the seed of the universal religion should have been sown in soil already prepared to receive it, need neither surprise nor alarm us. It is a question which affects the *method*, not at all the *validity*, of the Old Testament revelation.

Each deity of these Semitic tribes had a special sacred place where his worshipers offered to him prayers and sacrifices.

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This accounts for the large number of consecrated spots which the Israelites found in Canaan on their reaching that country; these Israelites, however, worshiped Jehovah at those shrines, though the danger of worshiping there the original deities and of practicing the immoral rites connected with the local cult was ever found great.

We commonly connect the religion of Israel with the tabernacle and the temple. I do not wish at this point to anticipate my discussion on the historicity of the former, and of its relation to the latter, but in fact we have in the *asheras* and *massebahs* of the Old Testament traces of earlier stages in the religion. Asheras, very inaccurately rendered "groves" in the Authorized Version, transliterated in the Revised Version, were originally, according to most modern authorities, trees worshiped as gods. Then the stump of a tree, or any erect piece of wood, came to be used instead.[1]

Masseboth[2] (the plural of the Hebrew word *massebah*) were blocks of stone which were worshiped as deities. Libations of milk and honey were offered to them.[3] At first rude blocks of stone, later on artificial obelisks, did duty instead. Such an obelisk we have in Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment, London.[4]

In the beginning no building was erected for deity. The gods were out in the open air, lived and had their being in tree or in stone; nor in these times of the morning of history were there priests; every man offered his own sacrifices. Later on the head tribesman was at the same time king and priest, as was Agamemnon among the Greeks, and Job and Abraham among the Israelites.

In the course of time men thought they should treat their deities as well as they treated themselves, and make them homes to dwell in, where they would be protected from heat

[1] *Cf.* W. ROBERTSON SMITH'S *Religion of the Semites*, first edition, p. 171.

[2] *Cf.* Hosea 3 : 4; 10 : 12.

[3] *Relig. of Sem.*, pp. 183–188.

[4] *Cf.* the diagram in BENZINGER'S *Biblische Archäologie*, p. 380 f., and NOWACK, II, 18 f.

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and cold. Previous to this, however, man had localized the presence and power of his gods. But it is of consequence to note that the first religious buildings were for the god and not for the worshiper; this characteristic ran through the early religions, and it shows itself in modern pagan worship. It applies to the three biblical temples (or two, if the temples of Zerubbabel and Herod are made one, as by Jewish authorities is commonly done), and to the tabernacle. The people were never to enter them; they dare not go beyond the courts. The priests were permitted to enter the "outer sanctuary (*haikal*);" in later times the high priests alone were allowed to enter the *dĕbhîr*, "most holy place."

It will be seen that modern Christian places of worship do not answer to the Jewish temples. Christians believe that Jehovah is as truly present in their churches as he was in the Jewish temple, but the people enter also, and there are praise and instruction in them, while in the temple there was but burning of incense.

The altar of burnt offering was outside the temple. Men could, and did, themselves, offer at this. I may be reminded of the so-called golden altar of incense (if indeed the epithet "golden" be not a later addition, as Stade, Nowack, and others hold) which was in the *haikal;* but it was expressly enjoined that no sacrifice should be offered on this (Ex. 30:9). In Ezek. 41:22 it is called the "table that is before Jehovah," and this is a more correct name than "altar," which, as the object so described was not used for sacrifice, conveys to us a wrong impression.

Dr. A. B. Davidson (in his commentary on Ezek. 41:22) says that the table of shewbread is called an altar because the cakes on it were as an offering to the Lord. The so-called "altar of incense" is now commonly considered to be identical with the table of shewbread.

TABERNACLE OR TEMPLE, WHICH FIRST?

We have two accounts of the tabernacle in the Old Testament, or rather we have the history of two perfectly distinct

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structures wrongly identified as the same. One of these is called *ohél*, "tent," or *ohél mo'édh*, "tabernacle of the congregation" (A. V.) or "tent of meeting" (R. V.). This was pitched outside the camp (Ex. 33:7), and above it Jehovah revealed himself in a pillar of cloud (*cf.* Num. 11:25; 12:5; 14:10). All these references belong to JE, or more strictly to E, though according to Kautzsch, *Heilige Schrift*, the last passage belongs to P. Confining ourselves to JE, the oldest source of the Hexateuch, with minor exceptions, we know nothing more of this religious structure than that it was a tent. We have no hint of the elaborate and expensive furniture which is connected with the tabernacle. Movable shrines of this kind were common among the Semites. In later times, too, such tents were employed at the high places (*cf.* Ezek. 16:16, "high places decked with divers colors;" 2 Kings 23:7, "house of Jehovah where the women wove hangings for the *ashera;*" Hosea 9:6, "Thorns shall be in their tents" (*cf.* Syriac *pĕrakkâ* and the Assyrian *parakku*, which mean a small chapel or shrine). According to Brockelmann's Syriac Lexicon, the former word means likewise "altar." The root is that of *pĕrôketh*, which in the Old Testament means "veil."

These portable tents were, we know, common among the nomad Semites, and according to the JE (or E) account of the wilderness wanderings this is what the Israelites carried with them during these wanderings, and in Canaan it was their sanctuary until the temple was erected. God was supposed to have his home in the covering which, in their haltings, they spread out. Only thus could he come and dwell among them; sacrifice was offered outside, not inside, and no man was allowed to enter except the priest.

Our revisers have wisely, and, I think, uniformly, used "tent" or "tent of meeting" for the names given to this simple, sacred structure. The same names, however, are occasionally though rarely given to the more elaborate construction described in P (as in Ex. 31:7; 36:37; 39:38; Num. 9:17; 11:24, 26; 12:10, etc.).

Now the tabernacle described by P as that worshiped in,

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and carried through the wilderness, is a wholly different thing. The usual Hebrew word for it is *mishkân*, "dwelling;" *cf. shĕkhina*. The A. V. and R. V. agree in using for it the word "tabernacle." The A. V. confuses matters by using "tabernacle" for the other Hebrew word *ohêl*, "tent," as well. The R. V. for this last employs "tent," and so keeps up the distinction. The *mishkân* or tabernacle was constructed by Bezaleel and Aholiab and other skilful men on a most elaborate scale and in a style that is highly artistic. There was used in its making an immense quantity of wood and of different metals. This, together with the high degree of art culture implied, comports but ill with the wilderness life. Fergusson, in his *Temples of the Jews*, p. 33, says the art of the tabernacle is wholly different from that of Egypt. According to Ex. 38:24, 25 (P) the gold used in the workmanship weighed twenty-four and one-half tons; the silver weighed over eighty-five tons, *i. e.*, in all one hundred and nine and one-half tons; this, apart from the weight of other materials. How all this and much more could be carried about in the wilderness is at least very hard to understand.

Other considerations of a general kind are thought to oppose the historicity of this tabernacle in wilderness days; as that its existence then implies a development of religious thought and ritual of which the prophetic writing and the oldest history of the Bible in the Hexateuch, Samuel and Kings, Amos, Hosea, etc., show no knowledge.

According to the great majority of modern critics the P account of the tabernacle, and the corresponding history in the "Chronicles" belong either to exilic or to post-exilic days. The tabernacle is, in other words, not the prototype, but a copy of the temple; and it is a copy of the post-exilic temple, not of the earlier one. Had it been the model of the first temple, as the P writings suggest, then we should expect the tabernacle and the first temple to agree, when either disagrees with the second temple. But facts are quite contrary to this. The first temple had no outer court; the distinction between priests and people was much less marked. Even Solomon could sacrifice in the first temple. The second temple had an outer court; so had the

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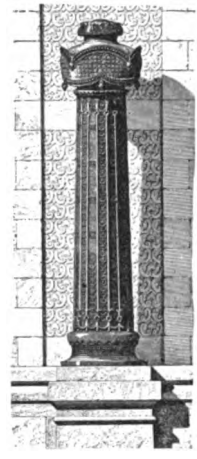
tabernacle. The idea of priestly sanctity had now made great strides.

The first temple had ten golden candlesticks, and ten tables of shewbread. The second temple had but one of each; so likewise the tabernacle. There are other features in which the second temple and the tabernacle agree in their disagreements with the first temple. With the two first the temple described by Ezekiel in the last eight chapters of his book is consistent. It is probable that Ezekiel's temple supplied the pattern for Zerubbabel's temple and for the tabernacle. As the prophet brooded over the past of the nation, its greatness, its Solomonian temple, he saw as in a dream a better time than any previously known. There would be a yet more glorious temple, and he proceeds to picture his ideal temple, based on the past, but adapted to the new age. This ideal temple was not alone the exiled prophet's; it was that of his fellow exiles as well. And when at length they were allowed to return, their first task was to translate this ideal into fact; this was done so far as was practicable. But another step was demanded. Moses stood in their eyes higher than ever. The people had been banished for not listening to him and keeping his law. This ideal temple — Moses, the ideal man, must have had a religious structure as much like this as nomad life made possible. Indeed, as noted before, the wilderness temple or "tabernacle," as we call it, was not limited to what seems to us possible to nomad life. In an age such as that which succeeded the exile, when the priest was everything, and when the worship of Jehovah seemed inseparable from the ritual of the temple, it was very natural to imagine Moses and the Israelites of his time worshiping God in some such way as the folk of these post-exilic days did. Nor in this is there any gross violation of principle. The essential fact



BRONZE COLUMN OF TEMPLE FROM BIBLICAL DESCRIPTIONS. (Restored by Ch. Chipiez.) [Perrot and Chipiez: *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., Vol. I, Plate VI.]

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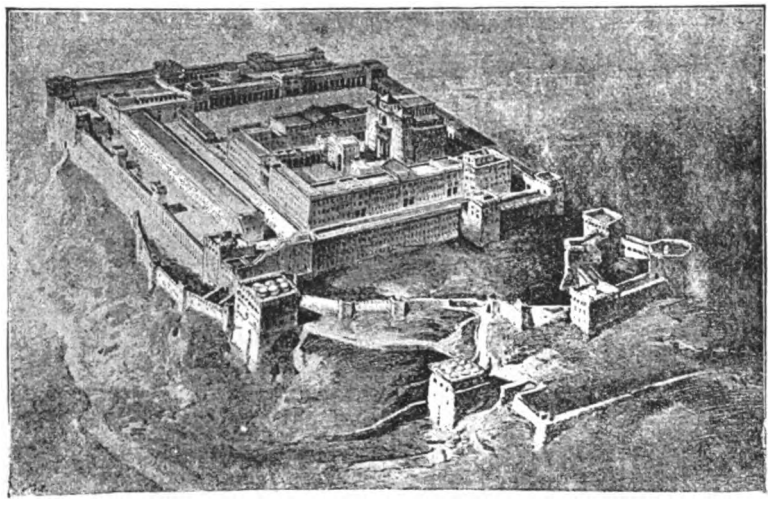
which they had to note was that God *was* worshiped; it is but an accident of the history, only the drapery wherewith the central truth is clothed, that these people failed to understand the worship of God except in their own way.

Do not the Old Testament prophets, in looking forward to the Messianic time, follow the same method as these post-exilic



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON. (Restored after a model by Baurat Schick in Jerusalem.)
[Riehm: *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, 2d edition, Vol. II, p. 1649.]

writers in looking backward? Censure of these last must be accompanied, if we are consistent, with censure of the former. Amos 9:11 thinks of the Messianic time as one in which north and south Israel would be rejoined, and a King of the house of David would reign over them. Micah sees the temple on Mount Zion exalted above the mountains as the throne of Jehovah (*cf.* Micah 4:1–5; Isaiah 2:1–4). The meaning of this is that Jehovah's worship in the temple would be recognized by all nations. With him, too, the Davidic dynasty is to be restored, but the dominion of David was to be widened (4:8).

We are told by Amos (9:12) and by Isaiah (11:14) that the Edomites, Philistines, Ammonites and Moabites would all yield obedience to Israel and worship the Israelite's God. This,

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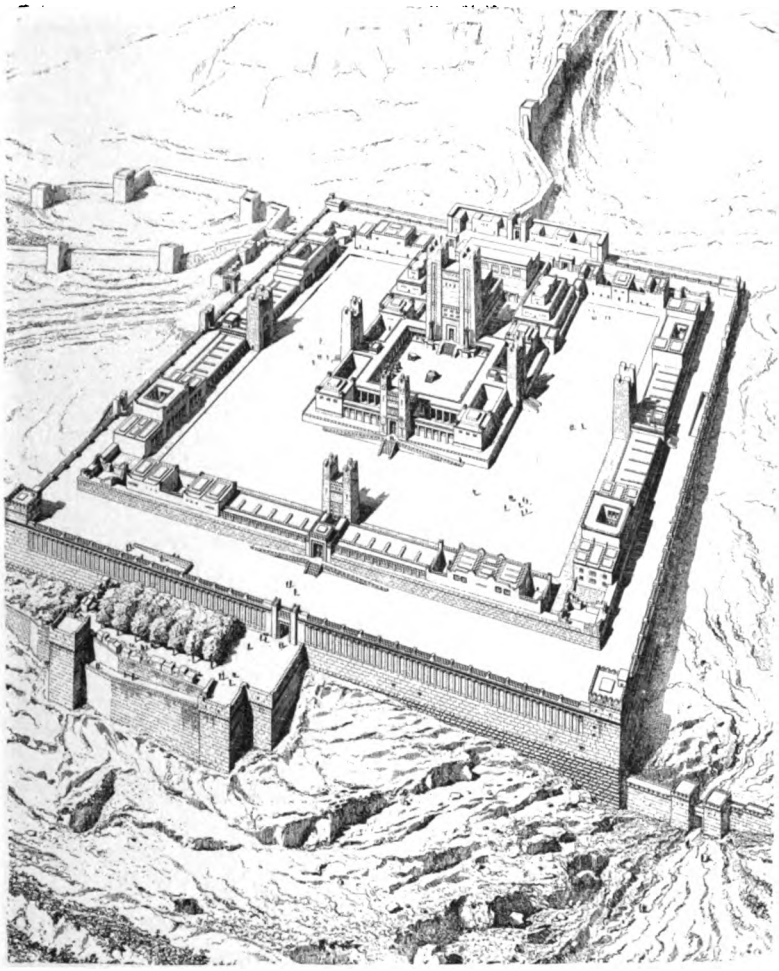

TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM AFTER EZEKIEL. VIEW TAKEN FROM THE EAST SIDE.
(Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)
[Perrot and Chipiez: *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., Vol. I, Plate II.]

in Isaiah 19:23, is said of the Assyrians and Egyptians. Had these ancient seers spoken in any other manner they would not have been "understanded" of the people. But the grand truth looking out from these beautiful descriptions is that Jehovah would be served from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.

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According to Mal. 1 : 11, when all men come to worship the true God incense will be burned and sacrifices offered. Roman Catholics have argued from this that these ancient forms of worship are to retain their place in the Christian church. They commit the same blunder as those who interpret literally Old Testament prophecies as to the final return of the Jews to Palestine, the appearance of Messiah on Mount Moriah, etc. All of these betray ignorance of the character of Old Testament prophecy. The future to the prophet was always a glorified present. So to the post-exilic prophets and historians the glorious past in which Moses stood as center was a glorified present, the worship was similar, only more perfect.[1]

CAPITAL OF BRONZE COLUMN FROM BIBLICAL DESCRIPTIONS. (Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)
[Perrot and Chipiez: *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa,* etc., Vol. I, Plate VII.]

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TEMPLE.

Whence was the plan of Solomon's temple obtained? The later temples were of course modeled on this.

From God we say; but in what way, through what channel was the knowledge conveyed? In other words, was the style of architecture Phœnician, or Egyptian, or what?

[1] For vigorous and more or less able vindications of the historicity of the P tabernacle consult the following: BÄHR'S *Symbolik,* I, 285; HENGSTENBERG'S *The Books of Moses and Egypt* and the untranslated *Beiträge,* II, 431; KEIL'S *Biblical Archæology,* I, 161; BISSELL'S *Biblical Antiquities,* 294; DR. BAXTER'S *Sanctuary ana Sacrifice,* a reply to Wellhausen, Part I, chap. 2.

For a plain and forcible defense of the critical position see W. ROBERTSON SMITH'S article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* "Tabernacle."

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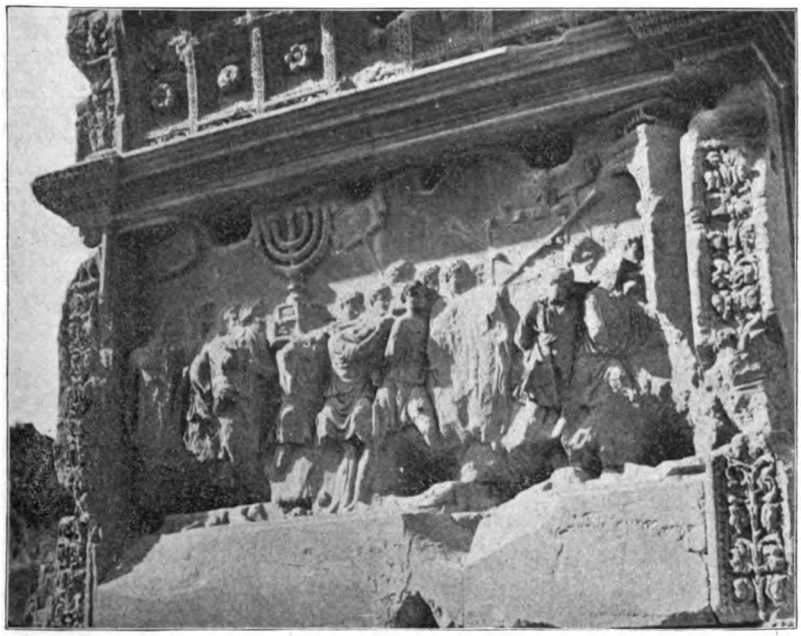
Benzinger (*Biblische Archäologie*, p. 385) holds the architecture to be Egyptian, and gives a detailed account of the temple of Amon Re at Karnak (see frontispiece in BIBLICAL WORLD, June 1897) to show how much like this Solomon's temple was.



CANDELABRUM ON THE ARCH OF TITUS ON THE *VIA SACRA* AT ROME.
From a Photograph.

One of the principal points of resemblance is the threefold division, but Nowack (II, p. 34, n. 3) points out that this same feature characterizes the ancient temples of Sicily.

Puchstein (*Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. VII, Part I) and Nowack (*Biblische Archäologie*, II, 34) argue for the Syrian origin. W. Robertson Smith (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Temple"), Perrot and Chipiez (*History of Art in Sardinia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, p. 141), and Friedrich (*Tempel und Palast Salomo's, Denkmäler phoenikischer Kunst*) trace the style to Phœnicia. The fact that the architect Hiram Abu was brought from that country lends strong support to this last view.

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W. B. Cobb (*Origines Judaicæ*, p. 242) makes the Assyrian factor the main one. Puchstein indeed does this too, but he contends that the art of Assyria is originally Syrian.

Fergusson (*The Temples of the Jews*, p. 33) pronounces the problem insoluble, only that he says Egypt is out of the question. He thinks the valley of the Euphrates or Phœnicia the most likely home of the temple architecture. He does not, however, support his belief by any arguments of weight as the others do.

The decision to which I, a layman in such matters, have come is that Phœnician or Syrian art—it is hardly possible to distinguish these two—was that followed in the construction of the temple, but the arguments of Benzinger, of Cobb, and of others, go to show that there was a close resemblance between the sacred architecture of the Semitic world and of Egypt.

THE TEMPLE AND CENTRALIZATION OF WORSHIP.

By Dr. W. L. Baxter (*Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, p. 5 f.) it is contended that the erection of the temple is a proof that even in Solomon's time worship was centralized at Jerusalem, and that the very existence of the temple was a condemnation of worship at the high places. He maintains on the strength of this opinion that the alleged centralization of B. C. 621, Josiah being king, was no new thing. It is held by nearly all modern scholars that Josiah's reform marked a new stage in the history of the religion of Israel; that the Deuteronomic code, the book found in the temple, was a product of the time; that now for the first time the doctrines of one God and no other, of one sanctuary and no other, of one priestly tribe and no other, were made integral parts of the nation's faith.

Now, Dr. Baxter writes very strongly; far more strongly than he reasons. The temple was never intended to supersede the high places, and accordingly from the days of Solomon down to Josiah's time these high places continue to be used without censure. This could not have been so if the building of the temple meant the ending of worship at the local shrines. Indeed Dr. Baxter fails to put forward a shred of proof in

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behalf of his thesis. He says the fact that local worship was practiced does not prove it was sanctioned, and he adduces a few instances in which such worship was practiced after the time of Josiah. But he omits to mention a most important and to him damaging difference; previous to B. C. 621, local worship was practiced and *allowed*; at least it is never condemned. After this date it was practiced but *condemned by the nation's leaders*. Now for the first time this worship became illegal and local sanctuaries were gradually suppressed. The need for this arose from the danger of worshiping the gods to whom these sanctuaries were originally dedicated, and of practicing the immoral habits that were a part of the primitive cult.

At first the temple was itself nothing more than one of many sanctuaries. Because, however, it was that used by the king and nobles, and it was situate in the capital, it naturally attracted most attention. These facts, together with the growing influence of the Jerusalem priests, made it easy to bring about the suppression of the provincial sanctuaries so that Jerusalem alone became the proper place for sacrificing.

A practical question arises. When the high places were put an end to where did the mass of the people worship? The male population went up to Jerusalem three times a year; they were not commanded to go oftener. The females were under no obligation to go up at all. Was there no other formal worship than that of the temple after B. C. 621? Probably the father acted as priest of the family as in the case of Job and the other patriarchs. Prayers were made and sacrifices offered in the home. It is not at all likely that the temple was ever intended to put an end to this; certainly it was not designed to put a closure upon worship at the high places. These last, as long as they were sanctioned, met the needs of different localities, and out of this combined—one might say coöperative—worship, would naturally come the demand for a special order of men to offer sacrifices. After the exile the synagogues spread all over the land, but this new institution, as will be seen, met a demand altogether different from that supplied by the high places or by the temple.

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THE SYNAGOGUE.

There is no certainty as to when or how the synagogue originated. Dr. Stade was once asked why, in his elaborate history, he does not explain the origin of the synagogue? The answer was: "Because I do not know its origin." Yet, with even less definite knowledge than Dr. Stade, it is not possible to forbear speculating.

There is not in the whole of the Greek Old Testament (including the Apocrypha), one clear case in which συναγωγή (*synagoge*) is used in this its technical sense.

There are two words employed in the Old Testament, both of which are more or less represented in the LXX by συναγωγή These are *'edah* (עֵדָה) and *qahal* (קָהָל). The usage, so far as I gather it from Trommius' Concordance to the LXX, and Fürst's Hebrew Concordance, is as follows: *'edah* occurs in the Old Testament 130 times, and in each case the LXX translates by συναγωγή; *qahal* occurs in the Hebrew Bible 107 times, in 70 of which ἐκκλησία is the Greek word used, συναγωγή taking its place in the remaining 37 passages. *Tsibbor*, though much in vogue in post-biblical Hebrew, never occurs in the Bible. *'Edah* means "an appointed meeting," from the root *ya'ad* (for *wa'ad*) Arabic *wa'ada* "to appoint a place" (Jer. 47:7), or "a time" (2. Sam 26:5).

From *'edah* the Aramaic word for church, *'idta*, is derived, and in the Christian writings which remain to us in the so-called Syriac tongue, this *'idta* is the word which represents the Greek term for church, ἐκκλησία.

Qahal, the other Old Testament word rendered συναγωγή has a more select signification, for it denotes a *called* assembly, *i. e.*, I take it, "an assembly of men called out, chosen;" it answers exactly, therefore, to the Greek ἐκκλησία, both in its etymology and its usage. The simple verbal form of this root is not used, though from the derivative forms its meaning is known to be "to call;" it is in fact the same root that we have in the Latin *calo*, also written *kalo* (technical term for calling a religious assembly); in Greek καλέω (of which ἐκκλησία is compounded);

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in Welsh *galw*; and in English *call*. *'Edah* is a more general term for *any* assembly. *Qahal* is a *special religious* assembly.

In post-biblical Hebrew the word commonly used for synagogue is *beth hakkĕnéseth*, but this never shows itself in the Old Testament, nor is there one reference in the Old Testament that clearly implies the synagogue.

Yet almost certainly this institution came into being during the captivity in Babylon, when there arose a great zeal for the law, for neglecting which the nation was banished. They could not offer sacrifices, as the temple was at Jerusalem; all the more earnestly were they likely to devote themselves to the sacred oracles. The contrast between their own faith and that around them could not but intensify their interest in their own law, for the purpose of studying which they probably met together, the priests and others acting as leaders. This is but *a priori* reasoning, I know, but the supposition made is a probable one, and it is supported by the fact that soon after the exiles' return there are clear traces of the synagogue. It has been already pointed out that the synagogue had a function wholly different from the Hebrew temple. The latter was not entered by any man except the priest. It was built to be the palace or trysting place of Jehovah. The synagogue was, like our modern church, open to all the people. In the temple incense was offered, but nothing else was done. Sacrifices were offered outside at the altar of burnt offering. But in the synagogue the Scriptures were read and expounded. In the courts of the temple, besides the sacrificing, there was singing and playing of instruments in connection with the worship of Jehovah.

Our oldest and most reliable sources of information as to the things done in the early synagogue are the New Testament and the works of Philo and Josephus. Now there is nothing said in these writings to show that any function obtained in the synagogue in the time of our Lord except instruction. The law was read and expounded, but nothing else was done.

After the destruction of the temple in A. D. 71, a great change came about in the synagogue service. No sacrifice could be offered away from the altar of burnt offering at Jerusalem. But

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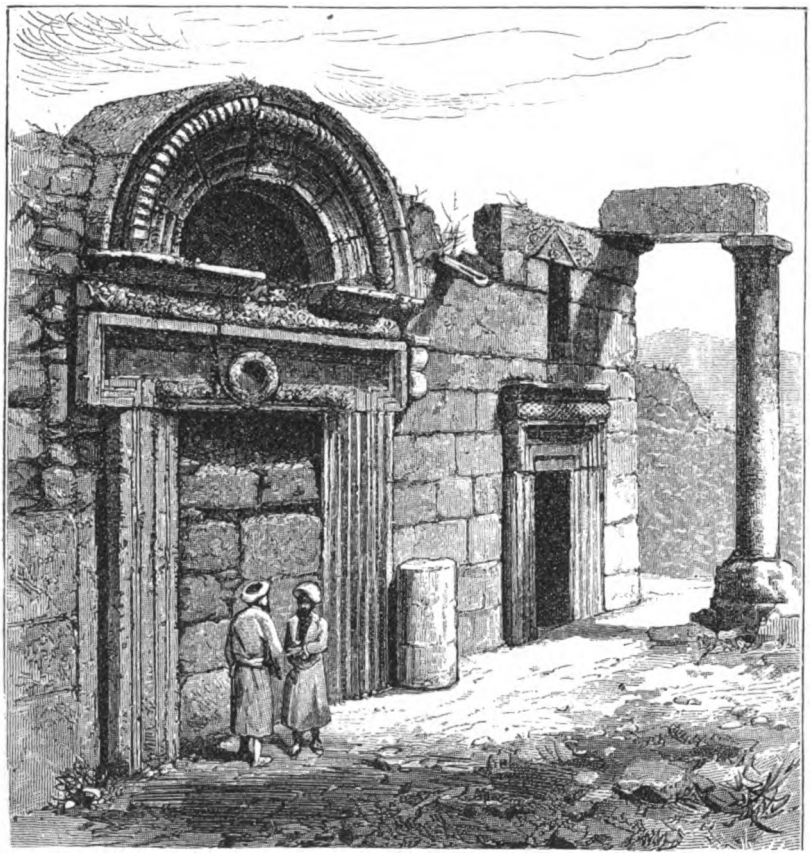
every other part of the temple service was as far as possible grafted onto the synagogue, so that worship was joined to instruction and indeed soon became the predominant element: the duties of priest and rabbi were joined.



RUINS OF A SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR BIR'ÎM.

It is of this second, this temple-synagogue, as I might call it, that the Mishnah and Gemara speak, and about which Vitringa, Lightfoot the elder, and most authorities write. I do not think that sufficient care has been taken to discriminate the synagogue proper about which we read in the New Testa-

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ment from the temple-synagogue of the time subsequent to A. D. 71.

The modern synagogue and the most ancient of which traces remain, none going back to our Lord's time,[1] are constructed after the pattern of the temple. As you enter, just at the opposite end—the eastern—in this country, is the so-called *haikal*, where the sacred rolls are kept. This corresponds to the *dĕbhîr* of the Old Testament. Close to the door is a platform called *bema*, corresponding to the altar of burnt offerings. The gallery answers to the court of the women. Between the *bema* and the door are benches occupied by the poorer people, and by strangers, which have their counterpart in the court of the Gentiles in the temple area.[2]

As at the start I said there are in the Old Testament two tabernacles, one of them better rendered with the R. V. "tent," so we must distinguish two synagogues in Jewish history, one of them belonging to the period from the exile to the destruction of the temple in A. D. 71; the other, conveniently named "temple-synagogue," is that of the time from A. D. to the present day.

Modern Jews, however, differentiate what they call *beth midrash*, which is merely a school usually adjoining the synagogue, and *beth hakkĕnéseth*, where the ordinary religious services are conducted. The latter term was used for the synagogue proper in early times.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The earliest Christians met in the synagogues and had no thought at the first of breaking away from them. They thought that by reasoning with the Jews in their own assemblies about the Christ they would bring their fellow-countrymen to accept him. Even if they failed in this, they had not, at the beginning, any intention of forming a new sect.

[1] Unless we except the ruins of a synagogue of Tel-Hum (Capernaum), supposed to be that built by the centurion. [But *cf.*, *contra*, *Palestine Expl. Fund:* "Survey of Western Palestine, 1881, Memoirs," Vol. I, pp. 416–17.]

[2] *Cf.* two articles by the present writer on "The Modern Jew and his Synagogue," *Old and New Testament Student*, September and October 1891.

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We have analogues to this in the two great Methodist movements of the last century, that of Wales, due to Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris, and that of England, due to the Wesleys and, in a smaller degree, to Whitfield. The leaders were

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH.
From a Photograph by Bonfils.

all clergymen of the established church, and had for a long time no idea of being anything else. They never dreamed at the commencement of their public labors of founding the powerful and wonderfully blessed churches they left behind them. But they had no choice; they had either to give up their work and their principles, or leave the church in which they were born. Likewise the early Christians were forced by sheer necessity to have meeting places and to form societies of their own.

But these early Christian societies must have been formed after the model of the synagogue and not after that of the temple. The members had all, as in the synagogue, a right to

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enter and take part. It is also probable that the early church buildings were copies of the synagogue, though we are here again left to *a priori* reasoning.

The eastern church, and the Roman Catholic branch of the western church retain the temple, or more correctly the temple-synagogue, service, with more or less of its priestly character and of its ritual. Greater prominence is given to worship, and the common people are less regarded.

The same remarks apply to the high church, which is a return, not to apostolic principles and methods, but to the church of the early Fathers, and of the Middle Ages, as modified under temple and heathen influences.

The three orders of church officers, bishops, priests, and deacons, have been identified by their defenders with the high priests, priests, and Levites of the later biblical writings.

Dr. Bickell in his *Messe und Pascha*, the substance of which has been put into English under the title of *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual* (T. & T. Clark, 1891), tries to show that the principal features of the church liturgies can be traced back to the worship of the temple. But he fails to produce a single proof of his position. In truth, he cannot bring forward unquestionable evidence either that the Jews used a liturgy at their service, or that we have anywhere certain remains of it. The Mishnah is too late for his purpose, as, at the earliest, no part was *written* before the close of the second century of the Christian era. The *Shema*, the שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה (*Shemôneh-'esreh*, *i. e.*, 18, because it contains eighteen paragraphs, though on special occasions a nineteenth is added), and the בְּרָכוֹת (*bĕrakôth*), "blessings," are all that can be traced even in the Mishnah, and these represent little if anything more than our benediction, Lord's Prayer, and hymns.

But the attempt of Dr. Bickell[1] is noteworthy, as indicating a desire to make the service of the Christian church approximate to the Jewish temple.

The Protestant churches, and especially those which call

[1] He is a member, although a free and very generous one, of the Roman Catholic church.

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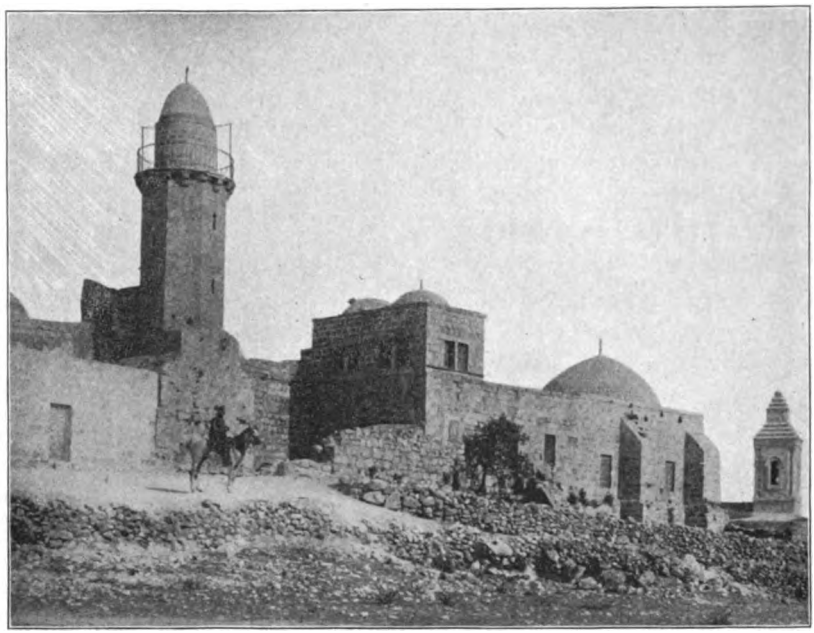
themselves nonconformist or free, give more attention to instruction; the sermon is the outstanding feature of the service. Sunday schools are promoted and other modes of educating the people. The lay, or unofficial, have part in the government and



ANCIENT CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION.
From a Photograph by Bonfils.

not seldom preach the sermon. These branches of the Christian church, therefore, follow in the wake of the synagogue; the temple with its priesthood, incense, and sacrificial worship, yields to the synagogue with its rabbinate, its education, and its spiritual worship. Those Christians, on the other hand, eastern or western, which put greater stress on the temple adjuncts named above, conform to the temple type, and cannot be traced earlier than the time the temple-synagogue arose, A. D. 71, and for a considerable period after this.

Churches of the synagogue type have corresponding officers. The synagogue was ruled by elders of whom one was chief.

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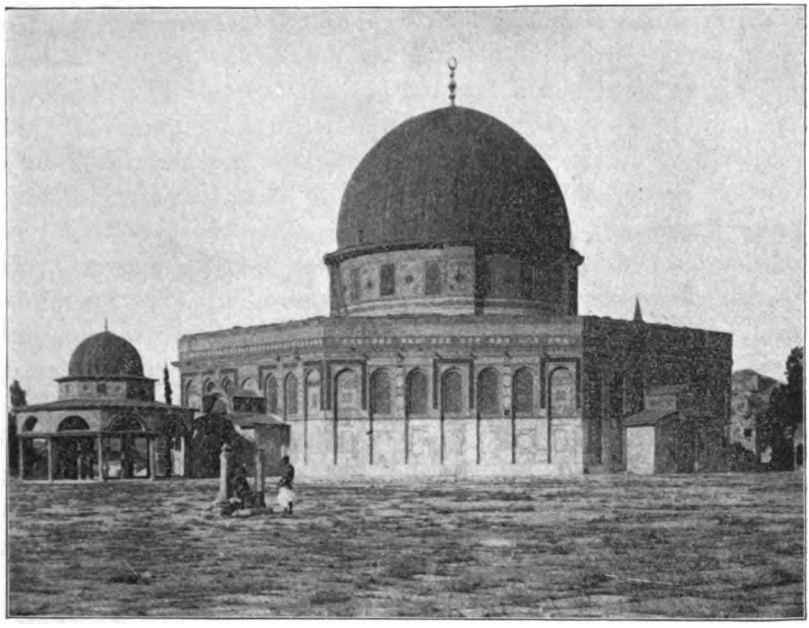
Reference is made in the New Testament to "rulers of the synagogue" (Mark 5:22; Acts 13:15) and to *the* ruler of the synagogue (Matt. 5:35; Acts 18:5, "Crispus *the* ruler of the synagogue," R. V.). Dr. Lightfoot the elder and Vitringa (*De*



GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.
From a Photograph by Bonfils.

Synagoge) argue from Acts 13:14–50 that the constitution and government of the apostolic church followed the synagogue. They proceed further to maintain that in this we have a Scripture proof of the Presbyterian form of church government. The premises do not, however, justify their conclusion, for the very utmost that can be inferred is that the early church was Congregational-Presbyterian; what Joseph Fletcher calls "intra-Congregational Presbyterianism" (*History of Independency*, Vol. I, Introd.), and what Dr. Dale prefers to name Presbyterian Independency (*Manual of Congregational Principles*, p. 77). Each synagogue was independent of every other, but each, too,

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was ruled by a court of elders selected by members of the synagogue.

The critical interpretation of Old Testament history, according to which the reign of the prophet precedes that of the priest, supplies a parallel curiously and significantly similar to the course that early church history took. Christ and the apostles were preëminently prophetic in the matter and manner of their preaching. The moral law and not the ceremonial, and indeed the moral law as against the ceremonial, was the burden of their preaching. In the second century we find the gradual assumption of authority, whilst the place of ritual became more and more important. In the first century there was practically no distinction between κλῆρος ("clergy"), and λαός ("people"). In the third century this distinction was complete, besides which there were grades introduced among the *kleros*. How much like this is the evolution of priestism in the Old Testament! First of all, in Deuteronomic times, the tribe of Levi was set apart; then the distinctions within this tribe of Levites, priests and high priests in the times of P. So the history of priestism in the Old Testament and in church history runs on very similar lines.

Let this paper be closed by one or two thoughts which naturally suggest themselves.

1. Under all forms of religion, and in the absence of any form at all, men have found God and derived satisfaction and help for life's duties from worshiping and otherwise recognizing him.

2. Mere wonder and ignorant fear have, with the advance of knowledge, given way to views about God which make him nearer to every man, and more capable of rendering aid. He is not shut up to this place or that. Wherever two or three meet to call upon him, whether in Puritan meetinghouse, in catacomb, in cave, in barn, or in stately cathedral, has he been found of the true seeker. It is the *man*, not the *place*, nor the ritual, that prevails with God, though both place and ritual may help the man to feel as he ought to in the divine presence.

3. At first there was no building to worship in, no set forms, nor any priesthood; then spots were fixed and enclosures for

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Deity were erected, and a special class of men were tolled off to attend to religious matters. These, in the course of time, acquired an influence, and put forth claims out of all proportion to their real worth.

The tendency of growing knowledge is to give more place to education in religious assemblies and less to the superstitious and sentimental; but there is a danger of going too far in this direction as in the other. God is not merely an object of thought. He is to be reverenced, loved, and trusted. Schleiermacher was wrong in making religion to consist of mere feeling, but they are equally wrong who, as Hegel, make it a mere function of thought.

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THE SOCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND POLITICAL LIFE OF ISRAEL BETWEEN 950 B. C. AND 621 B. C.

By PROFESSOR LEWIS B. PATON,
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The age of Solomon a turning point.—Israel had become an agricultural people;—yet retained many nomadic characteristics.—Now began to be a commercial people;—and through growth of cities an industrial people.—Changes introduced in tribal organization.

THE reign of Solomon (about 977–937 B. C.) is a turning point in the social and economic life of Israel. It marks the conclusion of the process by which Israel was transformed from a pastoral to an agricultural people and the beginning of the process by which it became an industrial and commercial people. Let us look first at the stage of social development which Israel had already attained about the year 950 B. C. and then at its further evolution in the subsequent period.

By the time of Solomon pastoral life seems to have disappeared from the land west of the Jordan. Slowly but surely Israel had become a community of farmers. The old Bedawi ideal of possessing "a land flowing with milk and honey" had given place to the new ideal of "sitting every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (1 Kings 4 : 25).

This transition could not but bring with it great changes in food, clothing, habitation, and communal life. The operation of changed economic conditions in producing social distinctions was manifest in Israel soon after the entrance into Canaan. Even the Book of the Covenant knows already a "social problem" arising out of unequal distribution of land and the existence of a landless proletariat.

Still, although agriculture brought with it modifications in the constitution of Israel, it would be a mistake to suppose that nomadic peculiarities had wholly disappeared even by the time of

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the kings. On the contrary, Israel, with that conservatism which is characteristic of the Semites, retained far more of its ancient ways than it lost. Down to the exile the Hebrew preferred breeding cattle to tilling the soil. Nabal, with his three thousand sheep and one thousand goats (1 Sam., chap. 25), may be regarded as a type of the prosperous farmer at the beginning of the period of the kings, who, although he cultivated his fields, devoted most of his attention to his flocks.

In spite of the disturbances which settled life had brought into society, much of the primitive simplicity of manners still remained. The rich and distinguished landowner guarded his sheep and cultivated his fields like his poorest neighbor. The houses of the common people were little better than the tents of the desert. They were mere huts of sun-dried bricks, containing at best only two rooms, and furnished with the utmost simplicity. The rich lived in somewhat larger habitations of stone, whose damp and gloomy interiors were but a slight improvement upon the ancient cave dwellings of Canaan after which they were originally modeled. Barley cakes and milk were the ordinary diet of all classes. Meat was eaten only on the rare occasions of national or family feasts.

Industry had developed scarcely at all beyond the point that it had reached in the desert. Smiths and potters were the only artisans known to ancient Israel. All the other arts were still domestic. Whatever the ancient Hebrew desired that he could not make he was content to purchase from Canaanite or Phœnician peddlers. So exclusively was trade in the hands of these foreigners that "Canaanite" and "traveler" came to be the standing Hebrew designations of a merchant.

The adoption of an agricultural life brought little or no change in the constitution of the family or household. Members of the same clans also settled in the same districts, so that the elders still maintained their ancient functions of judges and military leaders, only now they became "elders of the city" instead of "elders of the clan." The old tribal consciousness was still unbroken. There never was any national unity during the period of the judges, and even after the kingdom had been

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founded, tribal interests and jealousies were stronger than the ideal of a united Israel.

Such in broad outline was the social condition of Israel at the beginning of the period of the kings. It remains now to inquire what changes were effected by the establishment of monarchy.

Israel did not become a predominatingly commercial people until after the exile, but the beginning of the transition from an agricultural to an industrial life is seen as early as Solomon. In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, and in the days of Jael when "the highways were unoccupied, the travelers walked through byways and the rulers ceased in Israel" (Judges 5:6); there was no opportunity for traffic beyond the simplest barter of commodities. Monarchy, in spite of all its shortcomings, was a source of peace and order in Israel, and is so estimated by the author of Judges, when he says that every man did that which was right in his own eyes when there was no king in Israel (Judges 21:25).

Particularly under Solomon the advantage of stable government began to manifest itself in a better distribution of commodities. A brisk internal trade in agricultural produce was now possible, and for the first time Israel obtained a foreign market. With the Tyrians Solomon concluded a commercial treaty, by which he obtained cedar and fir wood from Lebanon for his architectural enterprises, giving in exchange wheat and olive oil (1 Kings. 5:1–12). The commerce thus auspiciously begun lasted through the entire period of the kings (Amos 1:9). Ahab promoted it by his marriage with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon (1 Kings 16:31). An interesting list of the wares in which Tyre dealt, and which she was glad to exchange for the agricultural products of the land of Israel, is found in Ezek., chap. 27.

With Egypt also Solomon entered into commercial relations and confirmed these by marrying one of Pharaoh's daughters (1 Kings 3:1). Horses and chariots are expressly mentioned as brought up (1 Kings 10:28) and doubtless many other artistic and industrial products were imported at the same time. In return

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the Hebrews exported storax, mastic, and ladanum from the region east of the Jordan (Gen. 37:25), also honey, spices, myrrh, pistachio nuts, and almonds from the land west of the Jordan (Gen. 43:11).

Commerce with the Syrians had already begun under David in consequence of the subjugation of several of the Aramæan and Hittite kingdoms. The choice products which these nations rendered as tribute (2 Sam., chap. 8) probably came to Israel also by the avenues of trade. This traffic grew to still greater proportions in the later days of the kingdom. Ahab obtained from Ben-Hadad the right to establish bazaars in Damascus (1 Kings 20:34), an interesting incidental evidence of the business enterprise of that period. Things had gone so far in the time of Hosea that he had occasion to lament, "Jacob is become a Canaanite (*i.e.*, merchant), the balances of deceit are in his hand: he loveth to oppress" (Hosea 12:7).

The new expansion of trade in the time of Solomon brought with it a rapid increase of wealth. The riches of Solomon became proverbial (1 Kings 3:13) and, although it may be something of an exaggeration when it is said that "he made silver to be as stones in Jerusalem and cedars made he to be as the sycamores which are in the lowland for abundance" (1 Kings 10:27), this statement bears witness to an extraordinary increase of material prosperity. Not only the king prospered by traffic, but his officials and courtiers were equally successful. An aristocracy of wealth suddenly appeared in the place of the old tribal aristocracy.

The newly acquired riches, instead of benefiting the nation by being wisely invested as capital, were squandered in self-indulgence. Solomon himself was the leader in this wicked and uneconomic policy. The story of his reign in the Book of Kings is little more than an exhibition of his lavish, senseless luxury. Saul had been content to spend his life on his ancestral estate at Gibeah. David, although a mighty conqueror, still lived a simple, unassuming life, but Solomon affected all the splendor of a genuine oriental despot.

His example found willing imitators in the new plutocracy,

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and the taste for luxury, having once been implanted, could never be eradicated. Even the division of the kingdom put no check upon it. Israel, as the larger and more prosperous nation, degenerated more rapidly. In the time of Amos the aristocrats would have blushed at the simplicity of Solomon's way of living. They dwelt in palaces of ivory and had both their summer and their winter houses. They reposed at their banquets upon damask cushions upon couches of ivory, and ate selected lambs and fatted calves. They drank their beakers of wine, and sang improvised songs to the accompaniment of their musical instruments (Amos 3: 12, 15.; 6: 4 f.).

The effect of luxury upon Israel, as upon every other nation, was to beget a desire for greater luxury. Money must be had at any cost to keep up with the pace of the times. If it could not be gained by fair means, then it must be by foul means. Solomon himself found his revenues insufficient to pay for his extravagant undertakings, and was obliged to resort to unjust and burdensome levies. His officials and the country nobility made use of still more questionable methods. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah give a vivid picture of the oppression of the masses by the wealthy men of Israel. They made "corners" in grain, so as to sell a smaller quantity for a larger price (Amos 8: 5). They lent money at exorbitant rates, and when the debtor was unable to pay they enslaved him for a debt no greater than the cost of a pair of sandals (Amos 2: 6–8; *cf.* Hosea 4: 1 f.; 6: 6–10; 10: 12; Isa. 3: 14 f.; 5: 7, 8, 22 f.).

The inevitable result of this process in Israel, as in other declining civilizations, was the accumulation of all the wealth in the hands of a few. In consequence of land-grabbing and eviction of debtors the peasant proprietor of ancient times had well-nigh disappeared and all the real estate had been absorbed by the great landowners, until, as Isaiah bitterly remarks, they had come to "dwell alone in the midst of the land" (5: 8). To the disappearance of the sturdy, freedom-loving yeoman of an earlier date, and the rise of a race of serfs was due more than to any other cause the fall of both the Hebrew kingdoms.

A second modification that monarchy introduced into the

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social organization of Israel was life in large cities. The first settlers of Canaan could not conquer many of the walled towns and those which they were able to capture they were unable to use. During the period of the judges the Hebrews lived in small villages, like the German *Dörfer*, from which the farmers went out to cultivate their fields. In process of time these were protected by walls, or by a simple tower, into which the inhabitants might retire in case of attack. They then received the name of "cities," but they had none of the division of functions characteristic of genuine civic life. With the conquest of the remaining Canaanite strongholds in the reigns of David and of Solomon, and the absorption of large bodies of the ancient inhabitants of the land, a change took place. True Hebrew cities now began to appear.

City life promoted the growth of new industries. Phœnician artisans, such as Solomon hired for his architectural undertakings, spread a knowledge of the mechanical arts. The wealthy desired finer habitations and better clothing than they and their slaves could produce. Gradually, as a result of all these factors, there grew up an industrial class in Israel. Whereas in the time of Solomon all skilled labor had to be imported, in the reigns of the later kings we find in all the leading cities a developed native industry. The old bronzesmiths now became skilled workers in iron and other metals. The potters attempted finer and more artistic products. Goldsmiths, silversmiths, and engravers of gems attained proficiency in their crafts. Carpenters, stonecutters, masons, bakers, weavers, fullers, barbers, and perfumers are also mentioned.

City life brought many material advantages, and was not without influence in modifying the primitive ferocity of the Hebrew character; still, on the whole, the change was injurious to religion and morals and so tended ultimately to the disintegration of the nation. The cities were full of Canaanite associations. The primitive inhabitants of the land formed a larger proportion of the population of the towns than of the rural districts. They continued their old practices, even after they had become nominal worshipers of Jehovah, and their example was

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fatally alluring to their Hebrew neighbors. In the times of the prophets the towns were the chief centers of the sensuous worship that they condemned as practical Baal worship, while the country retained better the sterner and purer early religion of Israel. City life, therefore, in Israel, as in so many other communities, tended to the growth of licentiousness (*cf.* Amos 2 : 7 f.; Hosea 4 : 2, 13 f.).

A third effect of monarchy was the undermining of the ancient tribal organization of Israel. This change came very slowly. At first the kings were only "judges" with a little wider jurisdiction. They owed their position to personal prowess, and trusted to the support of their tribes rather than to their constitutional authority over all Israel. The kings were compelled to make a covenant with the elders of the people before they ascended the throne, and violation of this covenant was regarded in both kingdoms as giving just ground for revolt. The old communal government under the elders remained at first unchanged, and the elders themselves served often as the lower officials of the royal government. When the Hebrew kings were strong, they were tempted like other men to abuse their power, but the worst of them were very different from the despots of the modern Orient. Custom and popular opinion put a wholesome restraint upon them even in late times. Prophets could rebuke and oppose them without fear of violence, and Ahab's inability to secure the coveted field of Naboth called forth the amazed remark of his Zidonian wife, "Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel?"

Still, in spite of all the limitations of monarchy, in tendency it was hostile to the tribal constitution and favorable to centralization of government. This tendency was seen conspicuously in the new military organization of Israel. The judges had possessed no regular troops, but had gathered their forces by summoning a levy of the clansmen. Saul had been obliged to content himself with the same primitive method (1 Sam. 11 : 7), but David began the formation of a standing army, in which not only Israelites but alien mercenaries, like the "Cretans and Philistines," were enlisted. This force was increased by the suc-

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ceeding monarchs, partly for safety against foreign invaders, partly to suppress internal revolutions. The regular soldiery, being better armed and better drilled, was more than a match for the old tribal militia, and in process of time superseded it entirely. In the days of Amos soldiers were apparently no longer furnished by the tribes as such, but towns were obliged to send a quota into the field in proportion to their population (Amos 5: 3 f.). With the loss of their military function the vitality of the clans rapidly decreased. Though they might still retain their ancient names and traditions, they ceased to be political factors. Their elders lost more and more of their early significance, while the king, as the head of the standing army, gained in power and importance.

In judicial matters also the tendency of monarchy was towards centralization. The hereditary character of the king, which was recognized in both divisions of Israel, gave him a greater dignity than the judges or tribal elders had ever possessed. His sanctity as Jehovah's anointed added weight to his decision and facilitated its execution. The result was that civil and criminal cases were with increasing frequency brought before him rather than before the court of the elders, until at length judicial functions had passed very largely out of the hands of the local communes and into the control of the central government. To act as his representative in legal matters, as well as to collect his revenues, the king needed a body of officials, the "princes" as they are called. They were chosen from the family of the king or from the ranks of his favorites, and thus there gradually grew up an official aristocracy which took the place of the old tribal nobility.

While this promoted the consolidation of the kingdom, it was disastrous to the interests of justice. The old elders had been the peers of the men whom they tried, and they were amenable to the moral sense of the community, but the new judges were irresponsible aliens, who used their office merely as a means of getting rich. They come in for as large a share of the denunciations of the prophets as do the greedy plutocrats into whose hands they played. In the times of Amos and of

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Isaiah it was impossible for a poor man to get his rights, for bribery was the only way of influencing the courts (*cf.* Amos 5: 7, 12; 6:12; Isa. 5:22 f.). Here again is found one of the main causes of the dissolution of the Hebrew states.

Summing up this brief sketch of the effect of monarchy upon Hebrew society, we may say that, while it saved Israel from anarchy and so enabled it to hold its own longer among the nations of the earth, it let loose the evils of luxury, oppression, licentiousness, and injustice, which ultimately wrecked both kingdoms. If the moral and religious development of the nation had kept pace with its economic development, the ruin might have been averted, for there is nothing essentially destructive in social evolution. A change of economic conditions, however, is always an opportunity for degeneration, unless the national conscience is vigorous. Times of change must be times of moral progress or they will become times of deterioration.

The best men of ancient Israel saw this and preached righteousness as the only safeguard of the state from the growing evils. Prophets thundered against the abuses of their day, legislators attempted to remedy them by enactments, poets voiced the wail of the oppressed poor, Rechabites set the example of a return to the primitive simplicity of the pastoral life, out of the conflict of the "remnant" with the forces of evil came the grandest literature of antiquity; but it was all in vain; the conscience of the community refused to respond, and, because of lack of righteousness, the social, industrial, and political life of Israel in the regal period, instead of being the progress that it might have been, was a degeneration that ended in the death of both kingdoms.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ISRAEL FROM THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM TO THE REFORM OF JOSIAH.

By PROFESSOR EDWARD T. HARPER,
Chicago Theological Seminary.

Influence of the monarchy in Israel.— The king an absolute ruler.— Burdens placed upon the people.— Relation of the court to social life.— Hopeless condition of the poor man.— Slavery for debt.— Influence of the conditions created by a monarchy on religion — The sacrificial meal and its perversions — The prophets and their work.— Conflict between the prophets and the kings. —Teaching of the prophets.— Righteousness.— The remnant.— Golden age.— Messianic king.— Monotheism.— Israel's election.— The prophets' gospel and their knowledge of the Spirit of God.

THE struggle of the prophets against the oppressions of the kings and the rich and powerful ruling classes constitutes the religious history of Israel during the period of the divided kingdom. The key to the understanding of this struggle is found in the nature of the monarchy and its effect on the social and religious life of the people.

During the period of the judges the leaders in Israel had striven to unite the scattered clans, that the people might maintain themselves against external enemies. A kingdom was inevitable, but it brought with it most serious social evils. The king was an absolute ruler. Anything else in the way of a kingdom was utterly impossible for Israel at that time. Oriental kings have always been absolute despots. Samuel's prediction, when the people begged for a king, proved true to the letter. "This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them unto him for his chariots, ... and he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands, and captains of fifties; and he will set some of them to plow his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, ... and he will take your daughters to be his

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cooks, ... and he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants."[1]

Solomon's retinue, according to the account in 1 Kings, chap. 4, consisted of military officers, chiefs of the commissary department and household and court attendants including stewards, scribes, and priests, besides the heads of the levies raised for the special purpose of fortifying Jerusalem and building royal palaces. The ostensible duty of the army was to protect the nation from enemies, and it was useful so long as Israel was struggling for national existence, but in times of peace the army became a menace. The king too often used it to enforce unjust exactions and to carry on plundering expeditions among the neighboring nations for his own glory. In an empire like Assyria the main support of the army and court was obtained by plundering foreign nations, but all the Israelites could plunder from the Philistines, Moabites, and other neighboring tribes scarcely paid the expenses of the expeditions, and the main support of the court had to be borne by the people themselves. A little reflection will make us feel that 1 Kings, chap. 4, is not a description of Solomon's glory but of his shame. How great a change since Saul returned to his work as a husbandman after being appointed king! The delicacies on Solomon's table were obtained by taxing the tables of the people, and no adequate return was made for them. The commissary officers appointed by Solomon were all too similar to the tax collectors who curse the East today. Their duty was to supply the revenues needed at court, and the means by which they obtained them were little investigated. Add to this the forced labor that Solomon employed on his gorgeous buildings, and we get some idea of the burden which the court placed upon the people. We should be glad to think that the accounts in Kings and Chronicles of Solomon's magnificence and the methods by which he supported his court are overdrawn, but the outcome shows that the sad record is all too true. Nor can we say that Solomon enriched Israel by establishing a legitimate foreign trade with surrounding nations.

[1] 1 Sam. 8: 11 ff.

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The cedars from Phœnicia and the horses from Egypt had to be paid for with wheat grown in Canaan, and these luxuries went to enrich the king, not the people. Solomon taxed the people to buy luxuries for his court. In these transactions there is little trace of a commerce between peoples for mutual benefit. Besides the military and commissary officers, there was a vast horde of court attendants, stewards, grooms, household servants, and favorites of the king, who swarmed about and fattened on the court. Even that worst feature of an oriental monarchy, a harem, was introduced into Jerusalem by Solomon. In such a court the king is almost wholly at the mercy of sycophants who make it their business to flatter and deceive him for their own ends. Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, experienced the evils of such counselors.

It was a redeeming feature that the army and court had no necessary connection with the internal and social relations of the people. Originally the sole duty of the king was to protect the nation from outside enemies. The people did not ask for a king to regulate their social relations, but to fight their battles. The relations of private and social life were fixed by customs handed down from the fathers. Even the administration of justice did not rightly belong to the king. The ancient customs of private right and blood revenge lingered long after the kingdom was established. True, the king claimed the right to interfere in private affairs when he chose; but it was no part of his duty to enforce justice between individuals. A good king may at times have interfered in behalf of justice (*cf.* 1 Kings 3:16), but more commonly such interference was to carry out some whim of his own, or because he was induced by some individual to help a private scheme; so that the king's interference was usually perversive of the customs and habits of the people and greatly dreaded by them.

The burden of this court might perhaps have been borne had it not been for its indirect influence. It introduced into the nation a desire for wealth and luxury. It set the example of oppression and extortion. It broke up the equality and fraternity of a pastoral people, and set up classes in society. An

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aristocracy of wealth quickly sprang up, and each in his sphere sought to imitate the court in luxury and unscrupulousness. As the nation became rich cities sprang up and the simple habits and life of the pastoral tribes were revolutionized. The contagion of fraud and violence spread through all classes. The rich flaunted abroad their pride. The poor were trodden in the dust.

Two things made the case of the poor man hopeless. The impossibility of securing redress for wrongs, and the right of a creditor to sell a debtor into slavery for debt. In olden times the elders in a clan or town heard the complaints of their clansmen and administered justice according to the traditions of the tribe, but now the spirit of greed for wealth and position had broken down the simple pastoral society. The judges had become venal or owed their place to the favoritism of the king or court. The city with its heterogeneous population was fast taking the place of the community of kindred. Still no check had been placed on the power of the judge to decide cases according to his own will, and the result was he decided according to the bribes offered him. It became necessary to take a present whenever one went to a judge. Nor would the poor man fare better in the hands of the priest. The sanctuaries were supported by the presents of the people, and the rich found no difficulty in securing priests who would be willing tools in their hands. Even when a good king were on the throne, how could a poor man get his case before him? Worse even for the poor man was the custom by which a creditor had the right to seize the person of a debtor and sell him into slavery to recover his debt. Amos testifies that persons were sold as slaves to recover so small a debt as the price of a pair of sandals. "They have sold the righteous for silver, and the needy for *the price of* a pair of shoes."[1] Under such a system the poor man was helpless. All he could look forward to was slavery, and slavery even might seem desirable; for a master feeds and cares for his slave, but the tax gatherer and creditor strip one and leave him to starve.

The new conditions under the monarchy were no less disastrous to the religious than to the social life of the people. The

[1] Amos 2:6.

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true Jehovah worship was the sacrificial meal in the family or clan. This worship is described in Deuteronomy, where the Israelite is bidden to take his tithes, firstborn, vows, and other sacrifices and eat them before the Lord: "Thou, and thy son and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in all that thou puttest thine hand unto."[1]

The essential features in this worship are: communion with Jehovah in the sacrificial meal, equality of the whole family, including slaves, at the table of Jehovah, and thankful remembrance of the blessings they are receiving from their God.

Partaking of this meal is a token of the blood covenant between Jehovah and his people. If any member of the family has sinned the covenant is broken, and the guilty person cannot come to Jehovah's table till the sin is atoned for and the covenant renewed.

It is now well established that before the centralization of the worship in Israel all slaughter of sacrificial animals, that is, domestic animals, was sacrifice. The altar was in every home and whenever an ox or sheep was slaughtered the blood was poured on the altar, parts of the animal burned, and the rest eaten in a sacrificial meal. This fact, that all slaughter was sacrifice, throws a flood of light on the nature of the worship in Israel. In those times, when the preservation of meat was little known, the slaughter of an ox or sheep was an occasion for several families or a whole village to come together and join in the meal. There was thus a public altar on a high place or under a tree near each village. In 1 Sam., chap. 9, there is a vivid description of such a meal at which the prophet Samuel was present and blessed the sacrifice before the people sat down to eat. At the great sanctuaries, like Bethel, Shechem, and Gibeon, such sacrificial meals were given on a still larger scale. Especially were the numerous feast days seasons of rejoicing, chief among which were the three great harvest feasts—the feast of unleavened bread, the feast of harvest, and the feast of

[1] Deut. 12:18.

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ingathering. The kings gave sacrificial feasts to the people at their coronations and on other great occasions. We are told that at the sacrificial meal given to the people by Solomon at the dedication of the temple 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep were consumed. A striking confirmation of the fact that all slaughter was sacrifice is found in the incident connected with Saul's vow recorded in 1 Sam., chap. 14. It is counted a sin that the people in their hunger slaughtered and ate without the proper sacrificial rites.

Simple and beautiful as this sacrificial-meal worship was, we can readily see the dangers that beset it when cities multiplied and the nation became rich and prosperous under the monarchy. Evils came both from within and without. The rich flaunted their luxury and ostentation even at Jehovah's table. The poor were crowded out. The sacrificial meals were made seasons of reveling and drunkenness. Listen to Amos' description of these feasts. "Come to Bethel and transgress; to Gilgal and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning and your tithes every three days . . . . and proclaim free-will offerings and publish them.[1] . . . . Ye that put far away the evil day and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; . . . . that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."[2]

Even worse perversions, if that were possible, came from the introduction into Jehovah worship of debasing practices borrowed from the Canaanites and other heathen neighbors. In the great sanctuaries of the northern kingdom bull idols were set up as representations of Jehovah, and the vilest practices of Canaanite worship introduced into Jehovah's feasts. The nature of the sacrificial meal shows us why Israel was so strictly forbidden to intermingle with other peoples. When all slaughter was sacrifice, to eat at a foreigner's table meant to participate in

[1] Amos 4:4. [2] Amos 6:3–6.

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the sacrifice to a foreign god. But whenever the nation of Israel became wealthy and powerful the temptation to make foreign alliances arose. Solomon yielded to it, and it was the alliance with Phœnicia and the introduction of the worship of the Phœnician Baal into Israel that led to the overthrow of the dynasty of Ahab in Israel, and brought the house of David in Judah to the verge of extinction. These terrible evils ruined the sacrificial meal and led finally to the removal of sacrifice from the home and the local sanctuary and to the centralization of all legitimate Jehovah worship in the one sanctuary at Jerusalem We cannot, however, agree with writers like George Adam Smith, who represent the ritual in early Israel as inherently bad and always a temptation to the people. Neither did the prophets oppose all ritual, but only the evils introduced into the ritual Is it possible to believe that Amos, who is as outspoken as any of the prophets in his denunciation of sacrifices, had no sacrificial meals in his own home at Tekoah, or that he slaughtered domestic animals for food without pouring the blood on Jehovah's altar? Samuel, we know, partook of sacrificial meals, and we must believe that all the other prophets in the period before the centralization of the worship did also. With the introduction of these evils the zeal for worship increased. The Jehovah temples were gorgeously supplied, and it was the delight of the wealthy and luxurious nobles in the growing cities of Israel to hold great sacrificial meals which degenerated to mere drunken revels, and to tax the people to support them. In the passage quoted from Amos we are told they proclaimed offerings and the bringing of tithes every three days. They thought to atone for their moral obliquity by zeal for the forms of religion, and to win the favor of Jehovah in spite of their sins.

Such social and religious evils were not peculiar to Israel, but have been common to all oriental monarchies, and slavery or a condition worse than slavery has usually been the fate of the poor man in the eastern countries, for he has found no one to champion his cause. Israel was unique in that in her the poor and oppressed found champions. These champions of the poor were the religious reformers of the nation. Most of the m

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belonged to the sect of the *Nebiim*, which had arisen during the revival under Samuel. Hence we call them prophets, but we must remember that it is not in the sense of foreteller that the name describes their work. They were rather preachers, or better reform preachers, for it was only an occasional preacher among the *Nebiim* that took a bold stand against the social evils of his day. They themselves denounce many of their fellow *Nebiim* as false prophets ready to pamper to the vices of the rich rulers. Outside the ranks of the *Nebiim* also brave reformers arose, such as Amos, who was a simple husbandman from the little village Tekoah. The nobles, judges, and priests furnished few noted names among these champions of social righteousness. But we must not think they came wholly from the lower classes and the poor. Isaiah, the greatest of them all, may have belonged to the royal family.

The history of the struggle which these men waged against the evils we have described is recounted in detail in the Book of Kings and the writings of the prophets themselves. We can only review it in briefest outline. The 350 years from Solomon to the captivity of Judah was a succession of periods of prosperity followed by periods of revolution and decline. Four times was this round repeated. Each century had its mountain peak of prosperity and its valley of decline. It was during the periods of political prosperity that the social and religious evils poured into the nation. Then and not in the periods of decline was the national religion in danger. When the nation seemed outwardly in a career of glory, the rich oppressed the poor, the judges became venal, foreign vices poured in and the worship of foreign gods was set up. Then also the great prophets arose. They made their predictions of coming evil while the sky was yet clear. These predictions are moral judgments based on the unrighteousness which is rife in the nation and in which they see the tokens of the coming disasters. To the prophet's eye the doom of the nation is written in its sins more clearly than in the growing world powers of Assyria and Babylonia.

To study one of these crises is to know the leading features of each. In the tenth century it was the oppressions of Solomon

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that led the prophet Ahijah to head a rebellion that resulted in the division of David's kingdom. Jeroboam I was the leader whom the prophets intrusted with the command, and his base desertion of the principles of the prophets as soon as success was assured made the "sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat" a byword forever in Israel. In the ninth century the powerful Omri and Ahab in Israel stopped the fratricidal war that had been going on since the division of the kingdom, and brought back prosperity. The account of Naboth's vineyard, the introduction of Baal worship from Phœnicia, and the alliance with Syria, when Ahab's army fought side by side with Benhadad at the battle of Karkar, are examples of the evils that poured in with returning prosperity. Elijah and Elisha opposed these evils, fought the Baal worship, and aroused Jehu to overthrow the house of Ahab. These revolutions so weakened Israel that they fell into the hands of the Syrians, and the nation declined for fifty years. Again, in the middle of the eighth century, the powerful Jeroboam II in Israel and Uzziah in Judah restored once more on a larger scale the empire of David. Once more Israel became rich and prosperous. This was the golden age of the nation. But once more pride and oppression and vice of all kinds poured into the land. Then arose Israel's greatest group of prophets. Amos and Hosea preached in the northern kingdom, and Isaiah and Micah in the southern. The great aim of Isaiah was to prevent alliances with the empires of Assyria and Egypt, which were so disastrous to the moral and religious life of Israel. As before, the evils and oppressions of the period of prosperity resulted in revolutions. The nations fell into anarchy, and, in spite of all the prophets could do, became an easy prey to the intrigues of the rising empire of Assyria. But the nation was not reformed, and in the returning prosperity under Manasseh, during the lull between the downfall of Assyria and the rise of Babylonia, the social and religious evils in Judah took a new start and became worse than ever before. Jeremiah, who preached at the close of the seventh century, was the last great prophet before the exile. The nation was taken captive by Nebuchadnezzar and Jerusalem destroyed in 586 B. C.

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In each of these periods the conditions described under Solomon were in broad outline the same, though the special form of the conflict between the prophets and the kings varied in the different periods. In the tenth and ninth centuries the struggle was against the establishment of an absolute monarchy and the introduction into Israel of foreign gods. In the eighth century the struggle was more against the oppressions and injustice of the wealthy classes and vice and corruption at home. The reform of Josiah in the seventh century was mainly for the purification of the ritual, to which end the prophets aimed to centralize the whole worship in Jerusalem. But in each case the real conflict was for social righteousness. Each prophet came forward as the defender of the oppressed, and just judgment and righteous dealing was the burden of his preaching. But the struggle was a hopeless one. In spite of the heroic efforts of the prophets, the evils of class spirit and oppression of the poor became worse, until the growing world powers of Assyria and Babylonia swallowed up the little kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and put an end to the prophets' fond hope of reforming the nation. And even if the nation had not been thus ruthlessly destroyed, we scarcely see how, with their social system, the Mosaic ideal of a theocracy or the prophetic hope of a Messianic kingdom could ever have been realized. The prophets themselves, after Isaiah, recognized the hopelessness of the struggle. It was not because they saw the rising power of Babylonia, but the impossibility of reforming Israel, that they looked to the exile as a necessity, and set their hopes on a return from exile and a new and purified community in which the poor and weak would have a better chance for justice. But though the nation went into exile the teaching of the prophets remained. No particle of their work was lost. The whole of it was a prophecy and more than a prophecy, a preparation for Christ and the kingdom of God which is yet to be fully realized in the world.

The principle which lay at the basis of all prophetic preaching is that religion is righteousness. They set themselves squarely against the prevalent idea that Jehovah's favor could be won by costly temples and zeal for the ritual, while unright-

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eousness existed in social life. And never before or since has this fundamental truth of religion been thundered in the ears of the people with such persistency and reiteration and in such varying forms. Every prophet made it the burden of his preaching. Ahab, rejoicing over his success in depriving Naboth of his possessions, was confronted by Elijah with the awful message: "Hast thou killed and also taken possession? . . . . In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine."[1] In the height of the glory of the northern kingdom the riotous feasters in the great sanctuary at Bethel were startled by the rough herdsman Amos proclaiming in the name of Jehovah: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies, ... but let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream. . . . . Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath that we may set forth wheat? making the ephah small and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for *the price of* a pair of shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat."[2] Micah sums up his charges against Jerusalem in the words: "The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord in the midst of us? No evil shall come upon us."[3] Answering the almost petulant question of the people who suppose they can please Jehovah with offerings, the same prophet breaks out in perhaps the most wonderful of all definitions of true religion: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?"[4] Isaiah's book begins with an arraignment of the nation. "Bring no more vain oblations. Incense is an abomination unto me . . . . yea when ye make many prayers I will not hear your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put

[1] 1 Kings 21:19.

[2] Amos 5:21 ff.; 8:4 ff.

[3] Micah 3:11.

[4] Micah 6:8.

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away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[1]

The prophets found the sanction for this preaching in the national experience. They taught that the national calamities were sent upon the people of Jehovah as punishment for their sins. The practical application of the view that pestilence, famine, and deliverance into the hands of enemies is direct punishment is easy when we remember that the prophets preached on the basis of nationalism. The nation stood or fell before Jehovah as a unit. The sins of individuals made the nation guilty, and the punishment came upon the nation. That the innocent must suffer with the guilty when the punishment came was taken as a matter of course. Such views led to the doctrine of the remnant. These national punishments purify the people and leave a righteous remnant. "I will thoroughly purge away thy dross and take away all thy alloy . . . . Afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city."[2] At times even it seems as if the prophets expected that when the calamity came it would fall upon the sinners alone and every righteous man would escape. "For lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all the nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth. All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword."[3]

As the evils increased and the prospect of a reform of the nation as a whole grew less, the thoughts of the prophets centered more and more on the remnant, and about it clustered the most glorious hopes for the golden age. "And it shall come to pass that he that is left in Zion and he that remaineth in Jerusalem shall be called holy . . . . when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof."[4] The hopes for the golden age were not confined to Israel. It was to be a time of universal peace, and blessings would flow out from

[1] Isa. 1 : 13 ff.
[2] Isa. 1 : 25–6.
[3] Amos 9 : 9–10.
[4] Isa. 4 : 3–4.

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Jehovah's people over all the earth. "And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many peoples, as dew from the Lord, as showers upon the grass; that tarrieth not for man nor waiteth for the sons of men."[1] With such hopes the prophets sought to inspire the nation and comfort the righteous poor groaning under the burdens of their oppressors.

In the golden age the king would be righteous. It was impossible for them to conceive of a society other than a kingdom, but the king would not be such as those then cursing the nation, but a true descendant of David, to whom the prophets always looked back as their ideal king. "And he shall stand and shall feed his flock in the strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah his God."[2] "And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; and his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes neither reprove after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth."[3] This was a true Messianic hope, although not till after the exile did the prophets conceive of a suffering Messiah or that their Saviour was to be more than a man.

The thought that Jehovah was using the mighty armies of Assyria and Babylonia as instruments with which to punish Israel wonderfully enlarged their conceptions of God, and the last traces of the idea that Jehovah was simply the God of Israel vanished from the teachings of the prophets of the eighth century in Israel. Amos makes his appeals in the name of the God who is the Creator of the whole universe. "Seek him that maketh the Pleiades and Orion . . . . Jehovah is his name."[4] They even go so far as to deny the peculiar election of Israel, when they find the people trusting in it rather than in repentance and righteousness; and declare that Israel is no more to Jehovah than the Ethiopians in distant Africa. "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel?"

[1] Micah 5:7.
[2] Micah 5:4.
[3] Isa. 11:2 ff.
[4] Amos 5:8.

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saith the Lord. "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?"[1] Or they proclaim that Israel was not elected to favor, but to responsibility. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities."[2]

But not simply did the prophets receive visions of Jehovah as the Holy King surrounded by seraphim or the Righteous Judge sending punishment in wrath upon evildoers; they learned to know him as a loving father seeking the prodigal, or as a tender husband eager to win back his sinful bride. All the prophets, even Amos, preached Jehovah's love, but Hosea's experience led him into the very heart of the gospel. No prophet realized Israel's sins like Hosea, for none of the others experienced them so deeply. The sins so common in the northern kingdom entered Hosea's own home and robbed him of his wife and broke up his family. Hosea had truly loved his wife, and the impulses of his noble nature compelled him to love her still, though she had become a vile thing. After this sad experience he realized as never before the feelings of Jehovah toward apostate Israel. His own heart gave him a glimpse into the heart of Jehovah. He had preached of Jehovah's mercy before, but after this experience the people must have felt added tenderness and power in his message as he described to them the sin against love, and appealed to them in the name of a love that outlasts sin. "How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim, ... O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, ... I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely; for mine anger is turned away from him; I will be as the dew unto Israel; he shall blossom as the lily and cast forth his roots as Lebanon."[3]

As we find among these prophets the true gospel, so too they had a true knowledge of the Spirit of God. We sometimes think that in ancient Israel the Spirit was only sent as an enduement for some special work, and the continued presence of the Spirit was not realized till after Pentecost. But study of the lives of the prophets leads us to conclude that they

[1] Amos 9:7. [2] Amos 3:2. [3] Hosea 11:8; 14:4-5.

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believed themselves under the constant guidance of the Spirit of Jehovah. Elijah is led by the Spirit in all, even the little, acts of his life. The prophets depended on the Spirit to give them a message whenever they preached to the people. This fact, that the prophets received the messages of Jehovah from the Spirit of Jehovah in their hearts, is what distinguished the prophet in Israel from the heathen diviner and soothsayer, who resorted to divination and omens to obtain the will of his god. The prophet needed no divination, for he had the living word of the Spirit of God in his heart.

Can we overestimate the religious life among a people with teachers such as these prophets? Evils were truly many and terrible, but so they are today, and there is an astonishing similarity between the social sins with which the church contends and those which confronted the prophets in ancient Israel. We believe the world advances, but pride in wealth, greed for dishonest gain, oppression of the poor, and formality and class spirit in religion are the evils that curse our social life and discourage the modern reformer who seeks to follow in the footsteps of the prophets. In the darkest hour Elijah was told that there were still seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed to Baal, and we may be sure that at all times in Israel there were many, many earnest persons who listened gladly to the teaching of the prophets and served Jehovah with as clear a view of the requirements of true religion and as deep an experience of the love and mercy of Jehovah as is possible for a Christian today.

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THE WORK OF ISAIAH.

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Isaiah as a writer and speaker; — as a statesman; — as a teacher of morality; — as a preacher of divine truth.

THE greatest character in Israelitish history from David to the exile was the prophet Isaiah. What was his special work and what were the particular ideas which he made effort to promulgate? The following outline, necessarily greatly condensed, is suggested as a help for the appreciation of his work.

I. ISAIAH AS WRITER AND SPEAKER.

1. *His greatest efforts.*—The most brilliant work of Isaiah as writer and speaker will be found in chap. 2, in which he describes the day of Jehovah against that which is lofty; chap. 5 : 1–6, in which is presented the parable of the vineyard; chap. 5 : 26–30, in which he describes the approach of the Assyrian army; chap. 30, in which he pictures the coming down of the embassy of the Egyptian political party to Egypt, and chap. 10 : 5—12 : 6 (in case the verses of chap. 12 are to be accepted as authentic) in which he presents a picture of the future relations between Assyria and Israel. An examination of these and other passages shows that there is no writer in Israelitish literature who presents a greater number of magnificent utterances, unless it be the writer of the Book of Job. In ability to describe situations, to seize upon the living pictures of a scene, the features which are most striking, Isaiah is unsurpassed. One sees even the smallest details standing out clear and distinct. For variety of matter and variety of style, for beauty and power of expression, perhaps no single passage, either elsewhere in Isaiah or in the entire range of Hebrew prophetic literature, is superior to the Assyrian prophecy in chaps. 10–12.

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2. *His skill in adjusting himself to circumstances.*—Let us recall the sudden change of temper and the abandonment of his original purpose in order to rebuke the sins and foibles of his day in the transition of 2 : 1–3 to 2 : 4 ff.; the detail with which he describes the ornaments and wearing apparel of the women, 3 : 16 ff.; his sudden turning in the midst of his address to the women in his audience, 32 : 9; the use made of the invasion of Tiglathpileser, 8 : 21, 22—9 : 1; the message to Ethiopia, 18; and the introduction of the priests' complaint because of his interference, 28 : 9, 10. It is evident that our prophet is ready for any and every emergency. He does not prepare his sermon and deliver it without regard to circumstances. He is ready, if occasion demands, to stop short in the very midst of his discourse and take up a theme suggested by the situation before his eyes. He changes from the calm, peaceful description of that ideal future to the rapid, agitated, and even terrible picture of the present. In the midst of an address to the men he will turn to the women on the outskirts of the audience; now it is Egypt against whom he thunders forth the message of Jehovah, and now it is Ethiopia. When all is light to the people, he pictures darkness; and when the darkness of his prediction actually comes, his thought goes forward to a distant time when the people will again walk in light.

3. *His skill in handling his material.*—In this connection there is to be noted (1) the fact that each and every prophecy is an artistic whole; (2) the wealth of figurative language which enables him to bring his meaning home to the hearts of the people, for example, the picture of the ruler selected because he has clothing (3 : 6), the little child leading the wild beasts (11 : 6–8), the disappointing dream (29 : 8), the lesson drawn for the politicians of his time from the field of husbandry (28 : 24–29), (3) his use of symbols—the names of children, Shear-jashub, Mahershalalhashbaz, and likewise Immanuel, his walking barefoot and naked (20 : 2), etc. It will be seen that he is confined to no single method. He determines that those who hear shall understand. He chooses the method of presenting his material which will be most striking, and one cannot doubt that in every case his meaning was clear.

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4. *His use of figurative language.*—One need only study the more important images of one or more addresses to appreciate the strength of Isaiah in this particular. A few of the more striking figures in chapters 2–4 are the following: (1) the mountain of the Lord's house, (2) the beating of the swords into plowshares, (3) the day against the cedars and oaks, (4) men going into caverns and rocks, (5) Israel ruled over by babes, (6) women walking with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, (7) seven women taking hold of one man, (8) the branch of Jehovah, (9) the census-roll of the new Jerusalem, (10) the purging of the filth, (11) the smoke and fire and canopy in and over Jerusalem, (12) a pavilion for the shade from heat and for the refuge from storm and rain. Examine 10:5—12:6, omitting all but the more prominent figures, and we have: (1) Assyria represented as a rod of punishment, (2) Assyria gathering the riches of the nations like the gathering of eggs, (3) none in her presence moving the wing, opening the mouth, or chirping, (4) the axe boasting itself against the hewer, (5) the saw magnifying itself against the one who handled it, (6) the staff shaking the man who carried it, (7) the remnant of the trees of the Assyrian forest so few that a child can count them, (8) the yoke destroyed because of the fatness, (9) the lopping off of the boughs, (10) the shoot from the stalk of Jesse, (11) righteousness the girdle of his loins and faithfulness the girdle of his reins, (12) the animals in peace with each other and with man, (13) a highway for the return of the remnant, (14) the drawing of water from the wells of salvation.

5. *His fondness for contrast.*—Compare the picture of future glory (2:1–5) with that of present shame (2:5 ff.), the picture of desolation, poverty, and reproach (3:25—4:1) with the picture of plenty, peace, and protection (4:2–6), the description of the good vineyard and the bad grapes which it produced (5:1–6); the contrast between the darkness of his times and the glorious light of the Messianic future (9:1, 2); the infant who is to be born, and whose name shall be Wonderful Counselor, Prince of Peace (9:6), in contrast with the mighty warrior Tiglathpileser; the oak of Jesse's stump which shall sprout

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(11:1) in contrast with the Assyrian stump of cedar which shall never spring up. In fact, nothing is so marked as Isaiah's fondness for contrast, and in many cases the exercise of this passion, if so we may call it, produces an effect not simply forcible and significant but indeed startling.

6. *His literary style.*—One may decide for himself the application to Isaiah's style of the following adjectives. Space does not permit the citation of examples. His style is accurate and complete, chaste and severe, stately and measured, lofty and majestic, highly figurative, imaginative, natural and direct, original, terse, pointed, characterized by versatility, and, above all, original.

7. *His power as an orator.*—The man who could adjust himself so successfully to a situation, who could handle his material with such effect, whose language was enriched by such wealth of figurative expression, who could depict so vividly either the light, or the darkness, the glorious future, or the wretched present; the man who could for so long a period—under four kings—maintain his influence upon the nation; who, standing alone against his king and fellow countrymen could win the victory over them; who, in spite of the deepest despondency on the part of king and people, could alone withstand the Assyrian hosts, although at the very gates of the city, this man must have been a wonderful orator. His productions were not written to be read; but prepared for the platform. This platform was the busy thoroughfare, the steps of the temple, the corner of the street; and we can without difficulty picture to ourselves the prophet, a young man (when his heart was stirred by the luxury and profligacy of his times), a middle-aged man (when he describes the coming doom of Samaria), an old man, yet still full of fire and vigor in those last great days when Sennacherib's host threatened to wipe off Israel from the face of the earth,—we can picture to ourselves the prophet, all through his life, engaged in face-to-face struggle with the people, threatening, warning, consoling, comforting,—now with a few chosen disciples at his feet, again with thousands of Jerusalem's citizens hanging upon his words. Isaiah, if we estimate correctly his words and

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actions in connection with his times, must be regarded as Israel's greatest orator and one not inferior to any which ancient or modern civilization has produced.

2. ISAIAH AS A STATESMAN.

It is in this line of activity, perhaps, that Isaiah reaches his greatest eminence. We may consider this portion of his work under four captions:

1. *His work in connection with Ahaz*, in which he fights the proposed alliance with Assyria. Here he stands alone. The king has evidently reached a decision to ally himself with Assyria. Isaiah opposes the alliance. He believes that such a step is at once an abandonment of principle and a danger to the state. Whatever may have been his subsequent attitude, his position at this time is clear and he employs every means within his power to defeat the plans of the king (7:1–24).

2. *His work in connection with Hezekiah.*—The situation has now changed. Alliance has been entered into with Assyria, and this alliance the Egyptian party desires to break in order that union with Egypt may be accomplished. The party which would maintain the Assyrian alliance, with which Isaiah is in sympathy, and to which Isaiah now belongs, is in the minority. The people in general are tired of Assyrian rule and it is thought that better terms can be secured from Egypt. Sermon after sermon is preached by Isaiah in favor of the continuance of the Assyrian alliance. He urges that Assyria is the rod of Jehovah, and that rebellion against Assyria is rebellion against God. In speeches and in symbolical actions he conducts his political campaign. He knew very well and described with great minuteness the fickle character of Egypt. He knew, besides, her utter weakness as compared with Assyria. He understood that it was only Judah's pride that demanded the change, and that so far as concerned the nation it was better that it should be under the Assyrian protectorate. The struggle was a bitter one. Was he wise? There is certainly no evidence to prove the contrary.

3. *His home policy.*—Isaiah as a statesman had in his mind ideals of what a state should be. Whenever he allows his mind

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to go forward to the future and to rest for a time upon the Messianic kingdom, he presents his conception of a true home policy for Judah and Jerusalem. This included rulers who should perform their work in justice and righteousness, subjects who should be obedient to the rulers. It includes a relationship between man and man, and even between man and the animal world, the most ideal that has ever been presented. (See below, page 56.)

4. *His foreign policy.*—At first Isaiah believed and taught that Judah should remain independent of foreign powers, but the time soon came when this was no longer possible. He is ready then to favor the alliance with Assyria when once it has been made. His theory of Judah's independence was based upon the following considerations: Connection of Judah with another nation compelled a recognition by Judah of the gods of that nation. This would be followed immediately by the introduction of idolatry and would at the same time take away the feeling of dependence upon God. Such connection meant also luxury, debauchery, and injustice, and was entirely inconsistent with the spirit of Jehovah's city.

3. ISAIAH AS A TEACHER OF MORALITY.

The following passages are suggested as typical of the prophet's work under this head: 1:2–6, 23; 1:16, 17; 2:6–7; 3:13–15; 5:8–24; 101—4; 28:7–8. A study of these passages reveals the fact that he preached most vigorously against monopolists who joined house to house and field to field, men of wealth, short-sighted politicians, ministers of state who were guilty of nepotism and corruption, women who by their debaucheries had seduced the men from the paths of rectitude, perverters of moral distinctions, corrupt judges. He opposed Ahaz in his wilful insincerity and Hezekiah in his vacillation. He reproves the masses for their forgetfulness of God and their proneness to do the most debasing acts, and all the time he is pleading for the orphan and the widow and those who have no helper. There is no class, high or low, which he does not touch; the weakness and the wickedness of all classes is known to him.

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Although he worked with nobles and kings, as perhaps did no other prophet, although he was himself of royal blood, he does not lose sight of the lower classes. He contends with kings, he pleads with the multitude. No profession, no calling is either too high or too low. All alike need his criticism, his keen rebuke; all alike, when it is needed, receive his words of comfort and encouragement. The special sins of his day, as gathered from his sermons, were idolatry, luxury, extravagance, pride, debauchery, licentiousness, soothsaying, sorcery, distrust of God and trust in armies, indifference to righteousness, injustice to the poor, the corruption of judges, the false administration of office, hypocrisy and skepticism. Against these sins he preached continuously, and we must suppose that thousands of his sermons have never come down to us. He was ready to interfere personally when his attention was called to a case of injustice. Symbolical action is used, though sparingly. By parable, enigma, proverb, quotation, irony and sarcasm, he drives home the truth given him by God to preach. Isaiah was severe, but he was not like Elijah. He was mild and genial, yet he was not like Elisha. He preached the doctrine of principle as opposed to the doctrine of expediency. He was devoted to truth at any cost, and yet he was not indisposed to accommodate himself to the situation. The fundamental principle, however, on which he made everything rest, was that of absolute reliance upon Jehovah.

4. ISAIAH AS A PREACHER OF DIVINE TRUTH.

Space may not be taken to indicate the truth which he taught in common with other prophets who preceded him. This statement must be confined strictly to a brief sketch of his peculiar teachings:

1. *His teaching concerning God.*—In Isaiah's mind the two attributes which stand in the foreground are majesty and holiness. Nowhere in history is the majesty of God more vividly described than in Isaiah's picture of Jehovah's day (2:11–20). The whole world is a reflection of the divine glory (6:3) and especially in his figures does he give evidence of his appreciation

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of the manifestation of divine power; for example, 5:16; 10:17; 23:11; 28:2, 21; 29:6. The thought which more than any other colored his preaching was suggested to him in the words which the cherubim sang, Holy, Holy, Holy. This is seen in the name which occurs so frequently in his writings, "The Holy One of Israel." Did Isaiah appreciate the love of God? Yes. But not so clearly and forcibly as did Hosea. Was his conception rather that of a God severe and just? Yes. But Isaiah's God was not so austere as was the God of Amos.

2. *His teaching concerning worship.*—Isaiah has no sympathy with formal worship (1:10–17), or with routine ceremonial (29:13, 14). Worship is of no value if there is not a life consistent with it. His description of the true worshiper is to be found in 33:14–16. Was Isaiah really hostile to sacrifice and prayer, as would seem at first thought from a reading of chap. 1? It is probable that he had little or no confidence in the routine acts of worship as a means for appreciating the character of God. This worship was largely superstitious, and the mass of the people believed that the mere act of worship was sufficient to gain the favor of God. The worst sins conceivable were committed by the very priests who conducted the worship. Under these circumstances is it strange that the prophet, whose conception of God was so clear, and in whose thought the life of man must be consistent with the character of God,—is it strange, we say, that such a prophet should find frequent opportunity to condemn in no uncertain tone the mockery and hypocrisy of the religious ceremonialism which he saw on every side.

3. *His teaching concerning the remnant.*—One should read in this connection at least the following passages: 6:13, the story of Shearjashub (7:1–10) 4:2; 10:21, 22; 1:27; 37:31, 32. As has been pointed out so clearly by Professor Driver, the doctrine of the remnant furnishes the principle by which Isaiah reconciled God's faithfulness with his justice. To Judah great promises have been given. Of Judah a great work is to be expected. Judah, therefore, cannot be cut off; and yet how can she do the work assigned her if she is full of iniquity?

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What can Jehovah do? What must he do? First of all, punish her for the sin, and purge her of her iniquity. But she may not be destroyed. She will pass through the furnace of trial, and will come out refined. The admixture of dross will be removed, and those who remain, the remnant, will be pure and holy, and thus able to accomplish the great work given the nation to do. It was a doctrine which grew out of the historical situation. Israel was wicked, therefore Israel must be punished. Israel was the chosen nation of God, therefore Israel after punishment should continue in her vocation.

4. *His teaching concerning the ideal Zion.*—The more important passages are the following: 14:32; 28:16; 29:5; 29:17–24; 30:20–26; 32:1–8; 15:18; 33:5, 6. The city of the future and ideal Zion shall be perfect. Judgment and justice shall come forth from her midst, and prosperity shall abound. Did Isaiah expect these pictures to be realized in the far distant future? If so, the prediction is still unfulfilled, and so far as man can see there is no likelihood that it will be fulfilled. Or, did he have in mind a spiritual Zion, and have these words of prophecy found fulfilment perhaps in the New Testament dispensation, the spiritual Zion? Or, again, did Isaiah really expect the predictions to be fulfilled, and did he expect the fulfilment in his own days in connection with the Assyrian invasion? Was he, perhaps, disappointed, and were the later prophets, like him, disappointed? And yet was not the prophecy at least in part fulfilled in later times in the ushering in of the Messianic kingdom?

5. *His teaching concerning the Messianic kingdom.*—It will be remembered that before this time the Davidic dynasty had occupied an important place in the thought of Judah and Jerusalem. Isaiah now pictures the ideal kingdom and the ideal Zion. It is important at this point to recall the prediction of Immanuel, the birth of the child, the circumstances under which the birth is to take place with the peculiar significance of the name. Still later we have the representation of the Wonderful Counselor and Prince of Peace, the Reformer and Ruler (9:6, 7). This king is one who will be given divine equipment

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(11:1–4) and he will extend the divine blessings far and wide (11:5–10); peace shall be universal.[1] Many other interesting topics might be selected, but these must suffice.

Let us sum up the case. From the *literary* point of view there is but one Old Testament writer, if one, superior to Isaiah, namely, the writer of the Book of Job. From the *political* point of view there is but one statesman in the whole range of Israel's history superior to Isaiah as a statesman, namely, Moses. From the *ethical* point of view there is but one teacher superior to Isaiah, but one group of writings superior to those of Isaiah, but one Old Testament group from which humanity has received more help, namely, the Book of Psalms. From the *theological* point of view there is but one writer who sees more clearly God's plan of salvation, who sees God himself more closely than does Isaiah, namely, the author, or authors, of the second part of Isaiah. Our subject, therefore, the Isaiah of 750–700 B. C., in round numbers, second only in each of these four aspects to one, combines all and is, everything considered, perhaps the most wonderful character of Old Testament history.

[1] See article on "The Child Prophecies of Isaiah," BIBLICAL WORLD, December 1896.

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THE HEBREW ECCLESIASTICUS.[1]

By W. TAYLOR SMITH,
Exeter, England.

The recently discovered fragments and their publication.— The value of the language as a piece of dated Hebrew.— The light thrown upon the character of the versions previously known.— The style.— Its value for exegesis.— For the history of Jewish thought.

THE publication which has lately been issued by the Clarendon Press under the title "The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus" places before the world with surprising promptitude one of the most important manuscript finds of recent years. The facts read like a bit out of a romance. The acquisition about the same time from two independent sources of two fragments of the same manuscript, one of which begins only one verse after that at which the other breaks off, constitutes an extraordinary group of coincidences.

The smaller fragment known as the Cambridge Fragment and comprising 39:15 to 40:7 was published in the July number of the *Expositor* for 1896, and is therefore no doubt well known to many readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

The larger fragment, comprising 40:8 to 49:11, which is now through the kindness of Professor Sayce in the Bodleian library, and is therefore known as the Oxford Fragment, appears in this volume for the first time. The whole text (for the Cambridge portion of it is reprinted or rather reëdited) represents about 350 verses. It is very neatly printed, with an English translation on the opposite page, and underneath the Syriac and Greek versions. The Latin version is given separately. The whole book is "a thing of beauty" as well as a storehouse of scholarship.

[1] The original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (39:15 to 49:11) together with the early versions and an English translation, followed by the quotations from Ben Sira in rabbinical literature, edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A., with two facsimiles. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Small quarto. Price 10s. 6d. *net.*

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The interest and significance of the new text are great and manifold. The Hebraist, the student of literature, the biblical expositor, and the historical theologian all find ample material for reflection and discussion.

The language supplies a specimen of Hebrew which can be dated with a margin of only twenty-five or thirty years. It is generally agreed that Ecclesiasticus was composed between 200 and 170 B. C. We have therefore in the new text the means of knowing how Hebrew was written by a man of culture and influence about two centuries before our Lord's ministry. The result may be fairly described as startling. The Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus is biblical, not rabbinical. There are of course traces of Aramaic influence. There are also words which are either peculiar to the new Hebrew or are found there with especial frequency. In the main, however, the Hebrew of the son of Sirach is pure and vigorous. The distinctive characteristics of Mishnic Hebrew, such as the monosyllabic relative, the plural in *-in*, and the frequent use of the substantive verb as an auxiliary, are conspicuous by their absence. Ecclesiastes is much more closely related to new Hebrew.

The Greek version is known to have been made by the grandson of the author from the original in the year 132 B. C. The comparison of this version and of the Syriac version which was also made from the Hebrew with the newly recovered text sheds instructive light on the merits of these old translations. They are found to be much less literal than was supposed by many. The Syriac is often closer than the Greek, but neither can be trusted to reproduce the form. There are many passages in which the general sense is given whilst the form is largely disregarded. In the fine paragraph, for example, devoted to the portraiture of Elijah the simple stately words of the original borrowed from the Bible, "and he brake for them the staff of bread," are represented both in the Syriac and Greek simply by "he brought famine upon them." Again, the grandson seems sometimes to have been influenced by the Septuagint. He writes of Enoch (44:16) as "pleasing God" and "being translated," whereas his grandfather had written that "he was found perfect

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and walked with God and was taken." Other examples of the freedom of the Greek version are the following: (1) *Hebrew*, "Abraham put no blemish on his glory." *Greek*, "There was found none like him in glory (44:19). (2) *Hebrew*, "Noah became the successor," that is, "he was spared to carry on the succession and keep the race alive," as Canon Driver explains the passage in the glossary, which is one of the most valuable parts of the book. *Greek*, "He was taken in exchange for the world" (44:17). (3) *Hebrew*, "Elisha all his days quaked before none, and no flesh had dominion over his spirit." *Greek*, "And in all his days he was not shaken by any ruler and no one brought him into subjection" (48:12). These comparisons, which could readily be multiplied, show with convincing clearness that the restoration of a Semitic original from such translations as these can only at the best arrive at an approximation. All that can be said is that the writer may have written so and so. The uncertainty is increased when it is found that even a paronomasia which reminds the reader of Hebrew is found to have nothing answering to it in the original. This is the case in 49:4, where the Greek has *πλημμελίαν ἐπλημμέλησαν* but the Hebrew one word, *hishchithoo*.

The style of Ecclesiasticus is on the whole clear and forcible. The editors remark that "it stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, and the Hebrew parts of Daniel." There are no traces of meter, as an eminent scholar suggested some years ago, but the parallelism is often sharply defined. The son of Sirach was well read in the poetic literature of his people, and could handle its forms with skill and power. This comes out far more distinctly in the original than in the Greek version. Another oriental characteristic which is also brought out very clearly is the love of playing on names. Joshua was a great *salvation* to God's chosen (46:1); and Judah was *saved* by the hand of Isaiah (48:20). Rehoboam was "*ample* in foolishness" (47:23). Hezekiah *strengthened* his city and *was strong* in the ways of David (48:17 and 22).

Biblical exegesis may glean some useful hints from these chapters. It is not impossible that *tsʿdakah* is used, as in new

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Hebrew, in the sense of "almsgiving" (40:17 and 24). The bitter saying, "A daughter is a deceptive treasure" (42:9) contains an expression not found hitherto in classical Hebrew. "Deceptive treasure" or "treasure of deceit" is *matmoneth sheḳer.* Now if, as can scarcely be doubted, *matmoneth* is identical with the Aramaic *mamon* or *mamona*, we find here the Hebrew ancestor of the expression "the mammon of deceit" which occurs repeatedly in the Targum. So two hundred years before the time of Christ a phrase coming very close to "the mammon of unrighteousness" (Luke 16:9 and 11) was in use among the Jews of Palestine. The remarkable saying, "There are no corrections [according to a marginal reading "corrections unto life"] in Sheol" (41:4) must in future be taken into account in all inquiries into Jewish ideas about the hereafter before the Christian era.

The relation of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus (in so far as it can be determined from these fragments) to the Old Testament and to later Jewish literature and theology is too large a subject to be discussed at length here. Room can be found only for a few hints which may perhaps stimulate research. (1) The way in which the prophecy of Malachi about Elijah the prophet (Mal. 4:4–6) is referred to shows more plainly than the Greek version (which is indeed so obscure as to be almost unintelligible) the existence of a definite expectation of a literal return of Elijah as early as two hundred years before the ministry. It runs, "who art written down as ready for a season to make anger to cease before . . . . to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and to give understanding to the tribes of Israel" (48:10). Have we not here a glimpse of the beginnings of the belief with which the disciples were familiar, that Elijah would come before the Messiah (Matt. 17:10)? (2) The brief allusion to the visions of Ezekiel is suggestive: "Ezekiel saw the vision and declared divers kinds of chariot" (48:8). The Hebrew word for "chariot" is *merkabha*, a word not found in the Book of Ezekiel but often used in later Jewish literature of this prophet's visions of the cherubim. "The chariot" was a favorite theme of Jewish mystics or theosophists (Chagiga, 14 v.). The occur-

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rence of this notable word in this connection in Ecclesiasticus seems to show that the fascination of these mysterious visions was felt by some at least among Jewish thinkers long before the time of Christ. The speculations recorded in the Talmud represent, it would seem, the growth of centuries. (3) The reference to Job in the next line is very remarkable: "Also he made mention of Job who maintained all the ways of righteous ness" (49:9). The second hemistich seems to imply acquaintance with the Book of Job. The allusions in Ezekiel (14:14 and 20) are too general to warrant the strong and curiously worded statement, "maintained all the ways of righteousness.' Some exceptional experiences, such as are so vividly described in the great poem, must have been in the writer's mind. Not less remarkable is the silence concerning Daniel, who is named with Job in both passages. Had the writer been familiar with our Book of Daniel, or even with some document made use of by its compiler, he could scarcely have failed when referring to Job as mentioned by Ezekiel to devote at least a line to so attractive and imposing a figure. (4) In the Greek version Enoch is described as "an example of repentance" (44:16). The original represents him as "a sign of knowledge." The difference seems trivial, but is really full of meaning. The belief in the vast knowledge of this early patriarch underlies the whole of the Enoch literature which once assumed such extensive proportions and the remains of which have recently excited so much interest. The Ethiopic Enoch repeatedly introduces Enoch as "the scribe" (12:3; 15:1, etc.). The "Book of the Secrets of Enoch" makes him responsible for the following audacious words: "I know all things from the lips of the Lord, for my eyes have seen from the beginning to the end. I know all things and have written all things in the books" (40:1 and 2). In the last chapter Enoch is said to have written down "the descriptions of all the creation which the Lord hath made in 366 books (68:2). Now part of this Enoch literature can be traced as far back as the century in which Ecclesiasticus was written. Charles puts chaps. 1 to 36 of the Ethiopic Enoch at the latest in 170 B.C. If so they were written by a contemporary of our

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author. Be that as it may, his reference to Enoch (as he wrote it) shows clearly enough that the germ of the Enoch literature was lodged in the Jewish mind at least two centuries before our Lord's ministry.

The way in which the new text has been edited and illustrated merits the warmest praise. The contents of the manuscript are laid before the reader without a commentary, but with many references and a few suggestions. The addition of the most valuable of the ancient versions means great saving of labor to the student. The glossary by Canon Driver which has been already mentioned would of itself make the volume worthy of notice, and the collection of references to Ecclesiasticus in Jewish literature is at the same time curious and instructive.[1]

[1] See also the critical note on "The Hebrew Ecclesiasticus" in the July number of the *American Journal of Theology*, pp. 777–86.

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Inductive Studies in the Acts.

By Clyde W. Votaw,
The University of Chicago.

THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.
30–63 A. D.

Sec. 16. PAUL'S FIRST EVANGELIZING TOUR.

Acts 13:1—14:28. About 46–48 A. D. Antioch, Cyprus, Galatia.

I. Study of the Facts.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1.	13:1–3,	Appointment of Barnabas and Saul as Missionaries.
Par. 2.	13:4–12,	Missionary Work in the Island of Cyprus.
Par. 3.	13:3,	Withdrawal of John Mark from the Company.
Par. 4.	13:14, 15,	Reception of Paul and Barnabas at Pisidian Antioch.
Par. 5.	13:16–41,	Paul's Discourse in the Synagogue.
Par. 6.	13:42–52,	Labors in and Expulsion from Antioch.
Par. 7.	14:1–7,	Work of Paul and Barnabas in Iconium.
Par. 8.	14:8–10,	The Healing of the Cripple at Lystra.
Par. 9.	14:11–18,	Paul and Barnabas taken for Pagan Gods.
Par. 10.	14:19–20a,	Paul Severely but not Fatally Stoned.
Par. 11.	14:20b–25,	Revisitation of the Churches Established on the Tour.
Par. 12.	14:26–28,	Return to Syrian Antioch and Report to the Church.

1. Prepare a concise abstract of the material contained in this section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

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2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Peter's discourse (13: 16–41), reproducing as exactly as possible the thought and the spirit of the text.

II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *The Antioch church and Gentile Christianity.*—Review the history of the Antioch church as recorded in Acts 11: 19–26. With what year does chap. 13 open? Of the five prominent Antioch Christians named in vs. 1 which are prophets and which teachers? Why does Barnabas' name stand first and Paul's last? Consider the agency of the Holy Spirit (vss. 2, 4) in this important event. Observe the fasting and prayer (vss. 2, 3) in connection with it. Had the gospel interest and work of the Antioch Christians so grown that an expansive movement of this kind was the next step? Why were Barnabas and Paul chosen for this mission? Why had not the Jerusalem church already undertaken the spread of the gospel among the Gentiles? Why was the Antioch church the source and center of Gentile-Christian missions? How fully was the character and the route of this missionary journey arranged beforehand by the Antioch Christians?

2. *Incidents of the work in Cyprus.*—Locate upon the map Seleucia, Cyprus, Salamis, and Paphos. Learn what you can about the island of Cyprus. Why was it selected as the first district for evangelization by Barnabas and Paul (*cf.* Acts 4: 36)? How did they reach the people with the gospel? How came (John) Mark to be with them (*cf.* Acts 12: 12, 25)? Is it to be understood from vs. 6a that the more important towns of Cyprus were visited by the missionaries? Ascertain the exact nature of "sorcery" or magianism as then practiced (see especially Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveler*, pp. 75–81). What was the character of Elymas? What is known about Sergius Paulus? What was the relation of the magian Elymas to this Roman proconsul? Why did Sergius Paulus wish to hear the gospel presented? Why did Elymas attempt to prevent this? Consider Paul's severe rebuke, and the divine judgment upon the magian. Compare with this the similar incident related of Peter in Acts 8: 9–24.

3. *The itinerary of the tour and defection of Mark.*—Who appears to have been the leader of the missionary party from Antioch to Paphos? Why was this? State the circumstances which placed Paul at the head of the company (vs. 13). Observe (vs. 9) that up to this point in the Acts Paul has been called Saul, but from this point on, Paul. Were both names probably his from infancy, Saul a Jewish

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name, Paul a Gentile name, as was customary in the case of Jews who lived in Gentile lands? Is the change here due to the fact that Paul now left the Jewish territory, and entered upon his great lifelong work in Gentile lands, where he was always known by his Gentile name? Who were the members of Paul's missionary company? Had the route beyond Cyprus been previously determined, or did Paul now determine what it should be? Why did he choose southeastern Asia Minor (Galatia)? Was it the next district to the west (toward Rome) of the territory already evangelized (*cf.* Acts 9:30; 11:25; 15:23, 41; Gal. 1:21)? Locate Perga upon the map. Why was not the gospel preached there at this time? Consider Ramsay's (*St. Paul the Traveler*, pp. 89–97) hypothesis that Paul's speedy departure from Perga was due to his having contracted malarial fever there, and must needs go inland to the highlands for recovery (the sickness referred to in Gal. 4:13, 14). Why was it that at this point (John) Mark left the company and returned to Jerusalem? How did Paul feel about this withdrawal (*cf.* Acts 15:38)? Trace upon the map the journey of the party from Perga through Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, and back again to Perga, Attalia, and Syrian Antioch. Ascertain what can be known about each of these towns as to location, population, social, political, and religious characteristics (see especially Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 16–58; *St. Paul the Traveler*, pp. 98–151). Consider the view now adopted by many scholars that these churches established on the first tour, which lay in the Roman province of Galatia, were the churches addressed in Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

4. *Paul's discourse in Pisidian Antioch.*—What two classes of people did Paul address in the synagogue (vs. 16b; *cf.* 13:26; 14:1)? Which class would be the more susceptible to the gospel message, and why? Consider the following analysis of the discourse: vss. 17–25, review of Israelitish history; vss. 26–29, the gospel now given to the world; vss. 30–37, Jesus' Messiahship proved by the resurrection and by the fulfilment of prophecy; vss. 38–41, proclamation of a practical, universal gospel. What was the main point and purpose of this discourse? What was Paul's object in reviewing the Israelitish history? Compare the facts of the Old Testament history mentioned in vss. 17–22 with the Old Testament records of them (use marginal reference Bible) and account for disagreements. Compare Paul's exposition of the Old Testament history with Stephen's (Acts 7). Compare vss. 26–39 with Peter's pentecostal address (Acts 2:22–36).

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Consider the original import, and the application made here, of the four quotations (vss. 33–35, 41) from Old Testament prophecy; also the quotation in vs. 47. Consider the practical nature and the force of Paul's presention of the gospel truth. Is this the first recorded discourse of the apostle Paul? Consider carefully the features and the teachings of this discourse which are peculiarly Pauline (see especially vs. 39).

5. *Turning from Jew to Gentile with the gospel.*—Consider six reasons why Paul, wherever he went, first preached to the Jews in the synagogues: Christ directed it (Mark 7:27, 28; Matt. 10:5, 6; John 4:22); Paul preferred it (Rom. 1:16; 9:1; 11:11, 1 Cor. 9:20); Paul turned instinctively to his own countrymen first; the synagogues were the most convenient places of assemblage; they promised the best success; they were the best channels of communication with the Gentiles, since many devout ones attended the synagogue services. Why would the gospel missionaries obtain a hearing in the synagogues? How did Paul present the gospel to the Jews, and what was his main argument for Jesus' Messiahship? What was the cause of the hostility of the Antioch Jews (Acts 13:45) against Paul and Barnabas? How did Paul meet this? Was the right of the Jews to the gospel an exclusive or only a prior right? Had Paul any precedent for presenting the gospel directly to the Gentiles? How was it received by them? Supposing the churches of the first tour to be the churches addressed in Paul's Galatian epistle, were they composed mainly of Gentiles (*cf.* Gal. 3:29; 4:8; 5:2; 6:12)? Did this abandonment of the Jews pertain only to Antioch, so that in the other places visited by Paul he preached first to the Jews, and to the Gentiles only when rejected by the Jews? How could the Jews reject the very truth and mission to which they had been divinely appointed?

6. *Gospel ministry in Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.*—What caused the departure of Paul and Barnabas from Pisidian Antioch, and after how long a period of work? Explain the meaning (vs. 50) of "devout women of honorable estate." Why could the chief men and women of the city be stirred into opposition against the missionaries? Why did Paul and Barnabas go from there to Iconium? Who are the "disciples" referred to in vs. 52? How did Paul begin his work in Iconium? What success did he have? In what sense were some of the Jews "disobedient" (Acts 14:2)? How long a time (vs. 3) did Paul remain in Iconium? What circumstances arose which drove him

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from the city? Describe the healing of the cripple at Lystra. Why was this miracle performed? Compare with it the similar miracle of Peter (Acts 3 : 1–10). What peculiar idea of Paul and Barnabas did the Lystrans get? Why was this? What tradition existed in Lystra as to a previous visit to their city of its tutelar deities, Jupiter and Mercury? How were they about to do homage to Paul and Barnabas as gods? Why did the gospel missionaries refuse this? How did they present the true view of the matter to the people? Consider carefully Paul's words to the Lystrans on this occasion (Acts 14:15–17). What is the meaning of the saying (vs. 15) "We also are men of like passions with you"? With vs. 16 compare Rom. 1: 18–25; 3: 25, and explain meaning. Compare with this Lystran address the apostle's address to the Athenians (Acts 17 : 22–31). Who stirred up opposition against the missionaries, and why? Why did they stone Paul? Who were the "disciples" who stood about Paul after the stoning? Are we to understand that Paul's recovery (vs. 20) was a miracle? What was the success of the work in Derbe?

7. *Revisitation and organization of the new Christians.*—Consider the wisdom and self-sacrifice of Paul in revisiting the towns of this tour instead of going directly east from Derbe through Tarsus, his home, to Antioch of Syria. What was the purpose of this revisitation? How could he return and work in those places from which he had been so recently expelled? Observe that the gospel was now preached in Perga. How much time was occupied in this revisitation? Observe in vs. 23 the second mention in Acts of "elders." What is the meaning of the Greek word *cheirotoneo* here translated "appointed"? Were these "elders" appointed in these churches by the apostles alone, or by the apostles with the approval of the church concerned, or by the church concerned with the approval of the apostles? Was there one, or more than one, elder to each church? Is it to be supposed that other officers, *e. g.*, deacons, were appointed in these churches at this time of their organization, although no mention is here made of the fact?

8. *Results of the first evangelizing tour.*—What was the relation of Paul and Barnabas to the Antioch church (*cf.* Acts 13 : 1–3)? What interest therefore would that church take in hearing an account of their missionary journey? How long a time had it been since the party set out for this work? Consider the then prevailing customs and facilities of communication between different distant districts, as to whether it is likely that any news from Paul's company had reached Antioch pre-

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vious to his return. What districts had been evangelized? How many churches had been established? How many converts to Christianity had been won? Was the main outcome of the journey, however, the establishment of the principle that the gospel was for the Gentiles upon the basis of faith, without reference to Judaism? Explain the meaning of the phrase (Acts 14 : 27) "opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles" (*cf.* Acts 13 : 38, 39; 14 : 15). Discuss the turning from Jew to Gentile with the gospel, as was repeatedly found necessary on this journey. Recall the previous occasions when others had been divinely led to this same course of giving the gospel to Gentiles as well as Jews; Peter at Cæsarea (Acts 10), and the early Christian missionaries at Antioch (Acts 11:19–21). Consider the relation of these experiences, leadings, and practical necessities to the conference at Jerusalem soon to be held (Acts 15) to determine finally the relation of the Gentile to the gospel and to Judaism.

III. Observations and Teachings.

1. *Organization.*—The teachers in the primitive churches were a class of Christians, subordinate to apostles and prophets, who devoted themselves to giving instruction in the history and teaching of Christianity.—Paul, faithful to his mission, revisited the Asian communities where he had preached on his tour, for the purpose of confirming and organizing the new Christians into local bodies or churches.—Elders (one or more) were appointed over each church, either by the apostles or by the church with the approval of Paul and Barnabas.

2. *Environment.*—The itinerary of the missionary journey was probably not fully marked out at the start; Cyprus was naturally the first place to visit, and subsequently Paul chose southeastern Asia Minor as the district next westward to be evangelized.—The Jews, at first interested in Paul and the gospel, soon came to hate and persecute the missionaries because of their Messianic and Gentile teaching.—At Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe Paul and Barnabas worked long and successfully, as there probably were few Jews in these towns.

3. *Institutions.*—The ceremony of fasting, so common in the Old Testament history, was practiced to some extent in the primitive churches, but without the direction or the sufficient example of Christ.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—The address of Paul at Pisidian Antioch is of great interest because of its being his first recorded sermon, although he had been preaching the gospel for twelve years more or

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less.—The discourse has definite Pauline peculiarities, and yet his line of argument, presentation of the facts, and conception of the gospel truth, are in entire accord with, and similar to, the preaching of Peter. —At Lystra Paul and Barnabas came into contact with a quaint relic of the old paganism, in answering which Paul introduced his conception of natural religion and the philosophy of history afterwards developed more fully in Acts 17 and Rom. 1.—The great doctrinal result of the tour was the working out in practical experience of the principle that the gospel was for Gentiles as well as for Jews, upon the basis of faith, and that the Gentiles need not conform to Judaism.

5. *Daily life.*—Paul, by providential circumstance and personal qualification, became the leader of the missionary party at Paphos, as they were about to leave Cyprus.—As from this time on he is to be the chief figure in the history, for he now enters upon his great Gentile work, Luke uses his Gentile name Paul, by which he was known among the churches and in subsequent history.—Mark withdrew from the missionary party when the inland trip from Perga was decided upon, perhaps from lack of courage to face the hardships and perils which that journey involved.—At the close of the tour a full report was made to the Antioch church which sent them out.—Paul and Barnabas probably resumed their Christian work at Antioch until they appear again a few years later at the Jerusalem conference in 50 A. D. as delegates from the Antioch church.

6. *Divine guidance.*—The Antioch church became the mother church of Gentile Christianity by reason of its systematic missionary work for extending the gospel in Gentile lands.—Barnabas and Paul, prominent workers in the Antioch church, were appointed, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to begin extended evangelization.—The gospel is substantially the same, whoever presents it, or wherever it is presented.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 105-114; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chaps. 18-21; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chaps. 5 and 6; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xii; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 64-151; Church in the Roman Empire, pp. 8-73; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles, Antioch (in Syria), Antioch (in Pisidia), Attalia, Barnabas, Cyprus, Derbe, Elders, Elymas, Iconium, Jupiter, Lucius, Lycaonia, Lystra, Manaen, Mark, Mercury, Niger, Pamphylia, Paphos, Paul, Perga, Pisidia, Proconsul, Prophets, Salamis, Seleucia, Sergius Paulus.

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SEC. 17. JOINT CONFERENCE AT JERUSALEM CONCERNING THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO JUDAISM.

Acts 15 : 1–35. 50 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section, with verse synopses, be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. vs. 1a, Judeans come to Antioch; vs. 1a, teaching circumcision to be essential to salvation; vs. 2a, Paul and Barnabas deny the false doctrine. Vss. 1, 2a, THE QUESTION PRESSING FOR DECISION.

Par. 2. vs. 2b, Delegates appointed to confer with the Jerusalem authorities on the matter; vs. 3, they go, preaching a universal gospel by the way; vs. 4a, they are received by the church; vs. 4b, which listens to their presentation of the case; vs. 5, certain Pharisaic Christians again affirm the necessity of circumcision for all Christians. Vss. 2b–5, CONFERENCE OF ANTIOCH DELEGATES WITH THE JERUSALEM CHURCH.

Par. 3. vs. 6, Jerusalem authorities consider the matter; vs. 7a, much discussion results; vs. 7b, at its close Peter speaks; vs. 7c, calling to their minds the former divine revelation on this subject through his admission of Cornelius to Christianity; vs. 8, which case showed that God received Gentiles as such; vs. 9, making no distinction in favor of the Jews; vs. 10a, so why afflict them with the burden of the ceremonial law; vs. 10b, which was grievous even to the Jews; vs. 11, both Jew and Gentile are saved through grace. Vss. 6–11, PETER'S ADDRESS IN THE CONFERENCE.

Par. 4. vs. 12, Paul and Barnabas recount their missionary experiences with reference to the Gentiles; vs. 13, then James, the Lord's brother speaks; vs. 14, he refers to the choice of Israel as an intended ultimate blessing to the Gentiles; vss. 15–18, citing Old Testament prophecy to this effect; vs. 19, he commends freedom from the law, for Gentiles; vs. 20, asking only that for expediency's sake they observe a few unessential customs; vs. 21, so that they might live harmoniously with the strict Jewish Christians. Vss. 12–21, JAMES' ADDRESS IN THE CONFERENCE.

Par. 5. vs. 22, Jerusalem Christians appoint delegates to the Antioch church; vs. 23, who should carry thither the written decree of the conference; vs. 24, in this document they repudiate responsibility for the Judean trouble makers; vss. 25, 26, commend Paul and Barnabas;

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vs. 27, attest their friendliness by the delegates sent; vs. 28, pronounce the law unnecessary for Gentiles; vs. 29, and enjoin a few expedient restrictions only. Vss. 22–29, DECISION AND LETTER OF THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE.

Par. 6. vs. 30, The letter delivered to the Antioch church; vs. 31, where it causes rejoicing; vs. 32, the Jerusalem delegates affiliate cordially with the Antioch Christians; vs. 33, and then return home; vs. 35, Paul and Barnabas tarry in Antioch. Vss. 30–35, THE ANTIOCH CHURCH REJOICES AT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT QUESTION.

1. Prepare an abstract, in your own language, of the facts recorded in this section.

2. Gal. 2 : 1–10 contains another account (as most scholars think) of this same conference, an account written by Paul himself. It reveals more clearly than the Acts' narrative, because it is a first-hand report by one of the chief actors in the event, the nature of the contention and the attitude of the three parties involved. The Galatian account should therefore be carefully studied in connection with the fifteenth chapter of Acts.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The occasion and problem of this conference.*—Whence came certain men (vs. 1) to Antioch? Were they members of the Jerusalem church? Did they come as representatives of that body, or as self-appointed teachers (vs. 24)? Exactly what was their teaching (vs. 1)? What proportion of the Jerusalem Christians shared their belief? Why did they come to Antioch to preach this doctrine? Were they the same persons, or at least of the same class, as those referred to by Paul in Gal. 2 : 4? Recall the facts about the origin and the composition of the Antioch church. Why would the teaching of these Judaistic Christians make trouble in the Antioch church? Who led in the opposition to this teaching (vs. 2)? What course of action was finally decided upon with regard to it? Consider that the question was whether Gentiles had to conform to Judaism in order to become Christians. How had this question been raised and answered in Peter's experience with Cornelius in Cæsarea (Acts 10)? How had it been raised and answered in the establishment of the church in Antioch (Acts 11 : 19–24)? How had it been raised and answered on Paul's first missionary journey (Acts 13 : 44–49)? How did these preliminary experiences and decisions foreshadow and influence this final decision of the question by the Jerusalem conference?

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2. *The constitution and authority of the conference.*—Why did the Antioch church show such deference to the Jerusalem church in this matter? Besides these two churches, were there any others represented in this conference? If not, why not? Considering the composition of the body, ought it to be called a "council"? Contrast this meeting with later "councils" of the Christian church. What authority had this company—the Jerusalem Christians and some delegates from Antioch—to decide this question? Were the leaders of the Christian movement all present on this occasion? What weight would the decision have with all the churches?

3. *The proceedings of the conference.*—From a careful examination of Acts 15:4–6 determine whether more than one meeting is referred to. If two meetings are mentioned, were both full public meetings? Observe that Gal. 2:2 speaks only of a private conference of Paul and the other delegates with the leading Jerusalem apostles. Was this a third meeting, not mentioned in the Acts; or are the two accounts of the conference in some disagreement? In the latter case is Paul's account to be followed, as being a first-hand report of the proceedings? In the former case were there three meetings: (*a*) a general reception by the whole church, with reports by Paul and Barnabas of their Gentile work, and objection made by the Pharisaic Christians (Acts 15:4); (*b*) a private conference to arrange matters between the leaders (Gal. 2:2): (*c*) a second full, public meeting for final discussion and decision (Acts 15:6)? Observe the order of procedure in the final meeting: much debate, Peter's address, reports by Paul and Barnabas, James' address, the decision, the written decree, the appointment of delegates to Antioch. What relation did James sustain to this conference? How did the conference arrive at and formulate its decision?

4. *The three parties in the conference.*—Consider that there were three parties in the conference, representing different views which must be adjusted to one another; the Pharisaic Christians, the Gentile Christians, and the Jewish Christians. What was the opinion of the Pharisaic Christians (*cf.* Acts 15:5)—that no Gentile should be admitted to Christianity except throught the gateway of Judaism? What was the opinion of the Gentile Christians (*cf.* Gal. 2:1–10)—that they should be entirely exempt from the Jewish law? What was the opinion of the Jewish Christians (*cf.* Acts 15:10, 11, 19)—that though they would have preferred to see all Christians conform to Judaism, yet it was evident from previous experience that this could not be demanded, and so freedom from Judaism was conceded the Gentile Christians, while it

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remained obligatory upon the Jewish Christians? Do we know the names of any of the Pharisaic Christian leaders? Who were the Gentile Christian leaders? Who were the Jewish Christian leaders? Why was it impossible for the Pharisaic Christian opinion to prevail? What were the reasons which led the Jewish Christians to concede to the Gentile Christians immunity from Judaism? Study carefully the account in Gal. 2 : 1–10 as to the relation of Paul to Peter, James, and John in this conference. What right had Paul to claim equal authority with them? Did they concede all that Paul asked for at this time? What distribution of the missionary field was made? Were the Pharisaic Christians persuaded to acquiesce, or were they simply suppressed?

5. *The addresses of Peter and James.*—Consider Peter's address as the closing of the general discussion of the matter. To what important historical event did he direct their attention (*cf.* Acts 10 and 11)? Why had not the influence of this event had a greater effect upon the Jerusalem Christians? Could Peter do otherwise than stand firmly upon this former experience? What did he affirm to be the one only condition of salvation? In view of this, what did he recommend? Consider James' address as the final speech of the conference. Did any peculiar authority attach to James' judgment on the question? Explain the Old Testament passage cited, as to its original use and its application here. What opinion did James express as to how the problem should be settled? State and explain the restrictions which James attached to the liberty which he conceded (vss. 20, 21).

6. *The decision and letter of the conference.*—Was James' opinion made the decision of the conference? State then what the decision was. Why has Paul made no mention, in Gal. 2 or elsewhere, of the restrictions which were laid upon the Gentiles? Give reasons for believing that vss. 23–29 contain the exact decree as sent out by the Jerusalem conference. How was this letter carried to and received by the Antioch Christians? Consider that the Jerusalem agreement, while releasing the Gentile Christians from Judaism, took it for granted that the Jewish Christians would continue in their Judaism. Would it be possible for Jewish and Gentile Christians to live in true Christian brotherhood with the barrier of the Jewish law between them? Would this difficulty assert itself in almost every church? Can the Jerusalem decision then be regarded as completely solving the problem? Study carefully Gal. 2 : 11–21, which records the conflict upon this point which was not decided. Was it necessary that Paul should attempt to

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remove this great obstruction to the gospel by getting Peter and the Jewish Christians to give up Judaism themselves also? Did he succeed in this attempt? Why has the Book of Acts practically nothing more to say about the Jerusalem Christians and the original apostles?

III. Observations and Teachings.

1. *Organization.*—No advance in the matter of church organization seems to be indicated in Acts 15 and Gal. 2. The Jerusalem church has a certain precedence due to its history, but has no more formal authority than the Antioch church, and neither of them has any formal authority over the other churches.—The elders are the only officers mentioned besides the apostles, who are the informal but acknowledged leaders of the Christian movement.

2. *Environment.*—Does the present section contribute any information on this subject?

3. *Institutions.*—The conference was a wise means for deciding a question which had for some time been prominent and vital; it was not formally official, nor was it formally representative, yet it was practically both, since all the leaders of Christianity took part in the proceedings, and agreed to abide by the decision.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—It was now conclusively established that the Gentiles should not be required to conform to Jewish rites and ceremonies, a principle which had already become practically recognized and acted upon by Peter, Paul, and others.—It remained, however, that the Jewish Christians were to continue in their Judaism.

5. *Daily life.*—What information does the present section contribute on this subject?

6. *Divine guidance.*—The problem which this conference solved was of vital importance, and a wrong decision would have divided the primitive Christians into two strong, hostile camps.—God's providence led those in authority to a right and harmonious solution of the problem.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 109–114; Vol. II, pp. 114–128; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chaps. 22 and 23; Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 7; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xiii; Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 152–177; Weizsäcker, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 175–216; Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 334–360; Bible Dictionary, articles, Barnabas, Blood, Cilicia, Circumcision, Idol, James, John, Judas (Barsabas), Law of Moses, Peter, Silas, Syria, Synagogue, Titus.

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Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR JÜLICHER, of Marburg, has declined a call to Heidelberg.

PROFESSOR WILHELM LOTZ, of Vienna, well known as an Old Testament critic, has been called to Erlangen as successor to Professor August Köhler, who died a short time ago.

PROFESSOR SHAILER MATHEWS, of The University of Chicago, who since January has been visiting numerous places of interest in Italy, Egypt, and Palestine, has returned to western Europe. He is expected to be in his professional chair again by August 12.

PROFESSOR EDWARD MEYER, of Breslau, has just published a controversial brochure: "Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift: Die Entstehung des Judenthums. Eine Streitschrift." Halle, M. Niemeyer, 26 pp. It is a reply to Wellhausen's severe criticism of Meyer's book published in the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1897, No. 2.

AMONG the recent losses to science we mention: Canon Churton, of Kings College, London, well known by his contributions to the criticism of the Old Testament; Dr. Wilhelm Baur, superintendent-general of the Evangelical Synod of the Rhineland, a prolific and accurate writer of historical and biographical works, some of which have gone through several editions; Dr. A. D. Loman, late professor of theology in the University of Amsterdam, who died April 17, seventy-three years old. As a critic Dr. Loman was even more radical than the most extreme left wing of the Tübingen school.

WE refrain for the present from any observations on the reported discovery of a portion of the *Logia* mentioned by Papias. Nothing beyond a mere announcement of the discovery is known as yet. Professor Blass, of Halle, to be sure, is rather skeptical as regards the truth of such a find. Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, of London, on the other hand, writes us that he is informed that the papyrus of the *Logia* will be published in English in June, and in Greek (probably) in July. The editors of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY hope to publish in the near future a critical note by Dr. Abbott on this discovered papyrus.

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THE firm of J. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) in Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig announces a new theological monthly, which is to combine all the excellent features of the *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, the *Theologische Literaturblatt*, and the *Theologische Jahresbericht* of Germany, as well as the *Critical Review* of England. It is called *Theologische Rundschau*, and is to be edited by W. Bousset, professor in Göttingen. The first number is to appear October 1, 1897. Subscription price, M. 6. To judge from the list of contributors, this new review promises to rank at once among the best periodical literature published in Germany. The first number will be awaited with interest.

MRS. LEWIS and her twin sister Mrs. Gibson have returned from their fourth exploration of the Convent on Mount Sinai, laden with fresh results of one more laborious investigation among the ancient vellum manuscripts in the convent library. Mrs. Lewis made the journey this year for the sake of a final examination of two Palestinian Syriac lectionaries similar to the one hitherto unique in the Vatican library. They belong to the beginning of the twelfth century and are written in the dialect of Syriac which was probably spoken by our Lord. These lectionaries appear to have been used in the Malkite church. The translation is considered to have been made from Greek manuscripts of a type which is no longer extant, and it therefore forms an independent witness to the text of the gospels. The text is being printed by Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington, of London, and is nearing its completion (see the *Independent*, May 27, p. 7).

DR. CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG has completed a monumental task. He has issued through the Trinitarian Bible Society, of London, *The New Massoretico-Critical Text of the Hebrew Bible.* This is said to be practically the third great edition of the Hebrew Bible; the *first* being that of Soncino in 1488; the *second*, Venice in 1524–5. The text of this edition is based on that of the first edition of Jacob ben Chayim's Massoretic Recension, printed by Bomberg in Venice, 1524–5. No variations, however strongly supported by Hebrew MSS. and ancient versions, are introduced into the text itself, which has been compiled strictly in accordance with the Massorah collected from the MSS. All variations are relegated to the margin. Other essential characteristics of this edition give it the place claimed for it in the critical investigations of the Old Testament. It is bound in two volumes or in one as the buyer may order. It can be purchased only through special orders and not through trade channels.

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Notes and Opinions.

In Whose House Did Jesus Eat with Publicans and Sinners?—Luke says plainly that it was in the house of Levi. Professor Gould, in his excellent commentary on Mark, says it is "doubly certain" that it was the house of Jesus. I quote: "Meyer, Holtzmann, and others say that this was the house of Jesus. This is contrary to the statement of Luke, who says expressly that Levi made him a great feast at his house. But the recurrence of the pronoun αὐτόν . . . αὐτοῦ makes it reasonably certain that they refer to the same person. Matthew does not insert any pronoun after τῇ οἰκίᾳ, and that makes his language point in the same direction. And the fact that Matthew and Mark use different language, which nevertheless points to the same conclusion, makes that conclusion doubly certain." The progress of this argument may be questioned. (1) Matthew's phrase, "in the house," if it has any bearing on the question at all, points to the house of Levi rather than to that of Jesus. It is often a modest way of speaking of one's own house. In this sense it is not uncommon even in colloquial English, and I hazard the opinion that this usage widely prevails in oriental languages. (2) Mark's language is by no means decisive. We read: "And as he passed by he saw Levi, the son of Alpheus, sitting at the place of toll, and he said unto him: Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass that he was sitting at meat in his house, and many publicans and sinners sat down with Jesus and his disciples." Here the interest centers in the words, "he was sitting at meat in his house." Professor Gould and those whom he follows hold that it is "reasonably certain" that the pronouns refer to the same person. That they might do so is beyond question; that that would be more strictly accordant with grammatical rules may be admitted; that they refer to the same person *with any kind of certainty* is exceedingly doubtful. For is it not true that in Greek, as in other languages, pronouns are often used in this loose way, especially where the sentences are short? Certainly it is so in English, as a sentence in the paragraph quoted above from Professor Gould bears witness: "This is contrary to the statement of Luke, who says expressly that Levi made him a

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great feast at his house." Here we have to go out of the sentence to become sure that "him" refers to one person, Jesus, and "his" to another, Levi.[1] Precisely the same process applied to Mark's statement makes it accord with Luke's. Moreover, other parts of Mark's narrative strongly confirm Luke's accuracy. Jesus is represented not as the host, but as a fellow guest with the outcasts. They "sat down with Jesus;" "He was eating with" them; "He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners." There is no intimation in any one of these three consecutive statements that our Lord was acting the part of a host, but it would be difficult to find more appropriate language to describe him as a fellow guest with sinners. Nor are the words with which Mark closes the narrative against this view; for they are found in Luke where Jesus is unquestionably represented as a guest.

M. L. GORDON.

[1] Our contributor's criticism becomes even stronger when it is noticed that the sentence quoted from Professor Gould is in reality itself a quotation from Luke, in which, as Professor Gould recognizes, αὐτῷ, him, refers to Jesus, and αὐτοῦ, his, only four words later, refers to Levi. If this is possible in Luke, why is it impossible in Mark?—*Ed.*]

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Synopses of Important Articles.

CHRIST'S TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D., D.D. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, pp. 87–105.

Professor Peters carefully examines the passages in Matthew's gospel in which our Lord makes reference to the Old Testament, comparing them critically with parallel passages in the other gospels and with the Old Testament.

Let us briefly note some of the most important of them. The story of the temptations in Matthew 4 and Luke 4 shows that Christ's conception of the highest manifestation of God to man is entirely different from that of Exodus 19, and similar passages, in which the divine is exhibited in clouds, thunder, and outward manifestations of might and terror. Christ will not turn the stones to bread, nor cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple to be upborne by angels, nor make himself king of the nations. He thus flatly contradicts the current conception of God's highest manifestation of himself, which, according to Jesus, is in the perfection in man of the divine attributes of love and truth. Matt. 5 : 17, 18, does not justify the usual interpretation that every jot and tittle (or minutest part) of the words of the law were sacred and eternal, for our Lord expressly condemns some parts of the law, of a formal character, which contradict the moral law, the law of love. The moral law, and that only, is sacred and eternal. He condemns, in Matt. 5 : 31, the law of divorce found in Deut. 24 : 1 (*cf.* also Jer. 3 : 1), saying this was given because of the hardness of their hearts. He repeals also, in Matt. 5 : 38, 39 (*cf.* Luke 6 : 29), the *lex talionis*, a law by no means peculiar to the Hebrews, but found in actual practice among all ancient nations, and in written form in all of the early systems of law. He contradicts, in Matt. 5 : 43, the spirit of many passages, such as Deut. 23 : 6 and the imprecatory psalms, 69 and 109. In the passages, Matt. 15 : 11–14 and Mark 7 : 15–19, there is involved a rejection of the Old Testament law of clean and unclean. Here our Lord lays down the spiritual law of clean and unclean, and so demolishes the old formal law. Thus Deuteronomy 14, and Leviticus 11, both go by the board,

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and the peculiar holiness of Daniel for not eating the food of the Chaldæans (Daniel 1) ceases to exist. This notion of clean and unclean was also one common to the Hebrews with the nations about them.

In Matt. 11:10, Luke 7:27, our Lord quotes Mal. 3:1 as a prophecy of John the Baptist, and virtually denies the literal truth of Mal. 4:5 concerning the coming of Elijah the prophet. Literally Malachi's prophecy was untrue, spiritually interpreted it was true. Next comes the famous passage about the sign of Jonah. A comparison of Matt. 12:38 ff. with Luke 11:29 ff. in the light of the connection of thought will show that Matt. 12:40 is not a part of the words of Christ but an explanatory addition by Matthew. This could be made clear in our day by using a modern device and bracketing this verse. So in Matt. 21:2 ff. (compared with Mark 11, and Luke 19) we find that the quotation of the fifth verse from Zech. 9:9 is an addition by Matthew. It is a peculiarity of Matthew's style to try to connect our Lord's words and acts with the Old Testament, as far as possible. Compare Matt. 23:35; 24:15 (Mark 13:14; Luke 21) as illustrations of the same effort. In Matt. 5:21 ff. it is necessary, according to our modern methods of writing, to supply some introductory phrase (similar to "it was said by them of old time") a second time before the words "whosoever shall say to his brother Raca," as this is not a part of Christ's words, but only an application of the sixth commandment made by the doctors of the law.

Our Lord regarded the Old Testament as containing a divine revelation, but he does not treat it as complete or perfect, nor does he treat the individual men through whom the revelation came as infallible, but, on the contrary, Professor Peters maintains, there are things in the Old Testament which are untrue, and teaching which is contrary to the absolute divine truth. He does not think it necessary to assume the *kenosis* theory, for the question of the limitation of our Lord's understanding as a man is not really involved in any of the critical questions with regard to his use of the Old Testament. When he refers to passages in the Old Testament under the name of Moses it was merely to identify the passage, just as we would refer to Shakespeare, without any committal in regard to authorship.

This article is very interesting and suggestive. But we ought to make a sharp distinction between Christ's treatment of the Old Testament itself and of the superfluous additions and erroneous interpretation of it by the Jewish doctors of the law.

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Also between the judicial law of the Old Covenant, forbidding, for the most part, only outward deeds, as murder and adultery, and the perfect will of God (including the evil thought as well as the outward deed) taught so clearly by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount, not as a national law, but for a spiritual community of believers. Neither does Christ condemn the ritual law in itself.[1] He observes the passover; his followers offer gifts at the altar (Matt. 5:23, 24); he directs the lepers to bring the offering commanded by Moses (Matt. 8:4; Luke 17:14); he does not find fault with a most scrupulous fulfilment of the law of tithes, but only condemns the omission of the weightier matters of the law, "judgment and mercy and faith" (Matt. 23:23); and he justifies his acts on the Sabbath by Old Testament analogies, as in keeping with the commands of the divine lawgiver (Matt. 12:3). But, like the prophets of old, he ranks love above sacrifice (Matt. 12:7; Mark 12:33; Hosea 6:6). Therefore it is not the law interpreted by Jewish theologians, but the law interpreted by the prophets (Matt. 5:17), whose supreme validity is asserted by Jesus.

WM. N. MEBANE.

[1] See WEISS'S *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, Vol. I, pp. 109, 110. Also an article, "Jesus and the Jewish Law," by JOHN MACNAUGHTON, in the *Queen's Quarterly*, April 1897, pp. 241–256.

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Book Reviews.

Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896. Pp. xii+329, 8vo. M. 5.40; bd., M. 6.40.

A compendious and compact New Testament grammar by the author of *Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum, liber alter* is an agreeable surprise. The author, professor of philology, not of theology, in the University of Halle, has through his two-edition theory of the Acts and other contributions to New Testament criticism come into prominence so rapidly as a biblical philologian — his reputation as a master of classical Greek having long since been established — that the University of Greifswald, on the occasion of the recent Melanchthon centennial, conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity *honoris causa*, something very rarely accorded a layman. Blass approached the problem of New Testament Greek from the standpoint of philology and in his classical introduction places this special type of the Hellenistic tongue in its proper place in the development of this historic language. He views the dialect from this enlarged aspect and the effects of this are seen in the detailed data of the book, in which the explanations are abundantly brought into connection with classical Greek that preceded and the Byzantine — a modern type of the language that followed. This is one of the exceptionally interesting features of the book. At the same time the author does not overestimate the influence of the Hebrew or Semitic type of thought on the peculiarities of New Testament Greek, as is done only too often; yet this element is not ignored. The book abounds in a wealth of fine details. Excellent exegetical remarks are made, *e. g.*, on p. 162 etc. Particular passages receive new light, *e. g.*, Phil. 2 : 1 (p. 81), or 1 Cor. 15 : 2 (p. 285). He makes exceptionally good, sometimes seemingly too liberal use of the variants, both in regard to New Testament Greek in general and also with reference to the peculiar style of special authors. Some of his comments are a revelation as, *e. g.*, when speaking of Acts, chap. 26, he says: "Here where the apostle has an aristocratic audience as never before, we find him using not only genuine Greek proverbs and

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phrases, but here too we have the only superlative in -ταtος in the entire New Testament (vs. 5), and here alone we have the classical form ἴσασιν instead of the dialectic οἴδασιν. The apostle Paul must have learned in some school that it was correct and Attic to conjugate ἴσμεν, ἴστε, ἴσασιν. It is, moreover, not surprising that the apostle Paul writes to his pupils and helpers somewhat differently, *i. e.*, in a somewhat higher style, than he does to his congregations" (pp. 5–6). The elucidation of special topics under etymology, such as order of words, ellipsis, pleonasm, word composition, figures, hiatus, etc., in all cases brings new matter from the storehouse of a skilled master of Greek. It should yet be remarked that this book is not a rival of the Winer Grammar, the revision of which, by Schmiedel, is published by the same firm. But Winer-Schmiedel, which appears in parts, and of which now the part treating of syntax has just been begun, is such a *magnum opus* that this *multum in parvo* of Blass, aside from other reasons, is on account of its concise and brief character a more desirable book for the student than the other, which is gradually assuming the proportions of a book of reference. In this respect the story of Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik* is repeated, of which recently the twenty-sixth, much enlarged edition has appeared, containing at least as much if not more matter than the old *Lehrgebäude*, and at the same time a smaller condensation for school purposes has been issued. Last, but not least, three excellent and complete indexes materially enhance the value of the book. For Americans it is gratifying to read that Blass expresses himself under special obligations also to Burton's *Moods and Tenses*. Blass' Grammar is a book for the student.

G. H. SCHODDE.

Traces of Greek Philosophy and Roman Law in the New Testament. By EDWARD HICKS, D.D., D.C.L. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Pp. 187.

This is a convenient little book which manages to compress within two hundred pages an astonishing amount of information upon the subject which it treats. Few persons would believe that so many correspondences to the thought and life of the time, or even allusions to these, exist in the pages of the New Testament. Besides the doctrine of the Logos, whose relation to the Jewish-Greek thought is generally recognized, Dr. Hicks finds suggestions of the teachings of Aristotle and Plato, of Stoic and Epicurean philosophers. He has a very broad-minded view of the meaning of these correspondences. In his opinion,

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while it is not heathen philosophy that we find in the New Testament, heathen philosophy made it possible for much of the New Testament to be written and to be understood by those to whom it came. Particular service in this respect seems to have been rendered by Stoic doctrines and forms of thought. Dr. Hicks has contributed materially to the interpretation of the New Testament in his pages on the relations of the ideas and the language of Roman law to the New Testament. St. Paul is the special exemplar of the influence of Rome. In his life he never hesitated to take advantage of the opportunities and privileges which his legal status as a Roman citizen secured to him, and many ideas and illustrations which he uses imply in his readers familiarity with legal procedure. The author makes some admirable suggestions respecting the application of Roman legalism to the apostolic and churchly presentation of the doctrine of the atonement. Perhaps the most suggestive discussion in this part of the volume is that concerning the use of the words *covenant* and *testament.* G. S. G.

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INITIATION INTO BACCHIC MYSTERIES.

[*From Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, p. 449.*]

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME X AUGUST, 1897 NUMBER 2

HIGHER CRITICISM AS LITERARY STUDY

IS IT NOT true that a good deal of space has been occupied by the editors of our religious papers in statements intended to turn opinion against those who are called "higher critics"? The attitude of many has been polemic in the extreme. One wonders sometimes whether it has been altogether Christianlike.

Has it ever occurred to those who have written these polemic statements, and to those who have read them, that perhaps the great duty of the church is to train higher critics rather than to fight them? If, for all time, we could drop the phrase "higher criticism" and substitute the phrase "literary study," it is probable that there would not be any serious difference in opinion on this question. And yet it is true that higher criticism is only literary study.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CRITICS

The literary study of the Old Testament has had a long and honorable career. The students, or to use the other term, the critics, have been for the most part good, pious, and honest men. Their only desire has been to find the truth and to accept it when found. In the great majority of cases these students have shown a kind spirit and a calm judgment. The men as men do not deserve the harsh and unkind statements which are often made concerning them.

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What may be said of them as scholars? Ordinarily, we may say again, their only desire has been the desire for discovery of truth. The mistakes of one generation have been recognized and corrected in the next. No literary student that is "higher critic" today claims that final conclusions have been reached. The work is in the same situation as that of medicine. No medical student thinks that today the doors are shut to further discoveries. It is also true that in biblical study as in medicine much new material has come to light during the last fifty years and consequently many discoveries have been made.

The Attitude often taken toward them

The number of theological professors, religious editors, and ministers who are in sympathy with a rational and conservative literary study, that is, criticism of the Bible, is larger than may be supposed. But it remains true that a still larger number will continue to remain stationary and to cast doubt upon the honesty and piety of those who are more energetic and more scientific, and who for this reason are pushing along in lines of further investigation. Just as the majority of the medical profession today are satisfied with the medical training of their ancestors, so the majority of the clergy are satisfied with the theological training and views of their ancestors. They are satisfied to receive and accept an old interpretation and they are equally well satisfied to ignore the best results of exploration and excavation.

The New Openings for Bible Study

But the number of those is surely increasing who recognize the biblical bearings of the various lines of general oriental study pursued with unceasing vigor and success in the present day. Yet even they have hardly grasped the importance to biblical work of this kind of study and the timeliness of the occupation of the field by Christian scholars. May we be permitted to describe somewhat in detail the salient features of this new outlook?

During the last fifty years the excavations in Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine, and the explorations in Arabia have

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opened up an entirely new field. The ignorance and confusion which prevailed in the study of the historical portions of the Old Testament before the discovery of the Babylonio-Assyrian inscriptions was lamentable but not to be avoided. Before this period there did not exist satisfactory lexicographical and historical material on the basis of which either the language or the text of the Old Testament could be scientifically studied. The Hebrew literature itself to which we have access is limited in extent and yet covers a historical period vast in its extent. We are often at a loss as to the original pronunciation of the Hebrew. The original text of the Hebrew books in many cases is uncertain. All these and many other facts which might be suggested show that for an understanding of the Old Testament we must have help from outside sources.

Language

This help a kind Providence has now placed within our reach. But there must be men who will undertake severe labor in the different fields in which the help has been distributed. The materials which excavation and exploration have already provided must be studied and the results applied. Moreover there are hundreds of important sites to be excavated. Some of the most important mounds of Assyria in the north and of Babylonia in the south have never been touched. Others have been excavated only in part. In Palestine very little has been done and in the Hittite country only two or three mounds have been laid bare. It may truly be said that only the smallest possible portion of the work has yet been finished.

Exploration

Outside the field of exploration there are many questions to be studied. These are of great interest in themselves and at the same time of great importance to the study of the Bible. For example: Is the civilization of the Semitic people really Semitic or is it foreign? Whence came the many customs and institutions which have long been supposed to be peculiar to the Hebrews but which

Questions of Origin

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more recent study has shown to be common to many Semitic nations. What is the exact relationship which exists between the Hebrew accounts of the creation and the deluge and those of the Babylonians? Were the Hebrew borrowed from the Babylonian, or the Babylonian from the Hebrew, or did both go back to an earlier and original common source? Was the Hammurabi dynasty Arabian? Do the results obtained from a study of Glaser's Arabic inscriptions warrant the view of Sayce and Hommel "that the system of name formation which we find in the South Arabian inscriptions was already in existence at the beginning of the second millennium before Christ, and that the numerous personal names ascribed to patriarchal and Mosaic times were in general use at this period and could not have been invented in or after the time of the kings — when a totally different system of nomenclature obtained — and thrown back into antiquity retrospectively"? Shall we with Sayce-Hommel bring Abraham from Ur in southern Babylonia, or with Budde-Kittel from Ur in southern Armenia? Shall we accept the Assyrian system of chronology, and, if so, how shall we harmonize it with the Hebrew? Of what importance are the recently discovered Tel el Amarna tablets for the study of the Old Testament?

Questions of Religion and Social Life

There is also much work to be done on the historical inscriptions. Many of the religious texts have never been copied. The psalter of the Babylonians is much more extensive than that of the Hebrew. While the Hebrew has 150 Psalms, the cuneiform literature contains thousands. The Babylonian psalter is rich in penitential psalms and some of these read remarkably like those of the Davidic collection. The astrological tablets and those containing the omens have scarcely been touched, although they occupy an important place in the Babylonian religious literature. The history of the Assyrio-Babylonian religion is still to be written In the annals of the kings we learn of the court, of the waging of war, of the reception of tribute, of the building of palaces and cities, of the digging of canals and the construction of walls. In the contracts, on the other hand, we come in contact with the

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people and with the commercial life of the nation. We find the most elaborate system of contracts and receipts, bills of sale, notes, etc. In the letters we meet a different phase of both court and common life. We have the letters of greeting from a subject or a member of the royal family to the king or queen-mother, or from the king to the subject. We have also diplomatic and military reports from generals and governors of provinces; records of the transportation of horses for military purposes, astronomical reports, requests for the service of a physician with a diagnosis of the case; reports from priests, physicians, park commissioners, gardeners — in short, a discussion of all the topics of the day.

SHALL CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS OCCUPY THIS FIELD?

These are a few of the more significant lines of scientific Semitic investigation contributing to the knowledge of the Old Testament. The material is increasing every day. Scholars will arise in larger numbers to study it and to apply the results of this study in the biblical sphere. The work cannot be done by everybody. Men must be found to devote their lives to the work. Where shall they be found? Will the churches furnish them? Shall Christian men come forward to give themselves to the fullest training in the philology, archæology, history, chronology, and literature of the Semitic peoples and thus to fit themselves for the highest contributions to biblical science? Will the churches encourage them to do this? or is it to be left to those who are not in sympathy with evangelical Christianity? Only scholars and well-trained scholars can adequately fulfil the requirement. Are we to give our sympathy and help to those who in the spirit of Christian self-sacrifice undertake such tasks? This is a vital question. May it be pondered by the leaders among us.

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REVELATION: AN EXPOSITION.

By the REV. PROFESSOR WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH,
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THE majestic and resonant exordium of the epistle to the Hebrews, "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds," makes three great affirmations concerning divine revelation: first, that God has spoken to humanity; second, that this revelation in times past was fragmentary in its contents and manifold in its forms; and, third, that at the end of that epoch this historical process of revelation culminated in one who by his peculiar relations to God guarantees a perfection to which the broken and incomplete revelations of former days did not attain. We may best reach the writer's thought by considering each of these affirmations separately.

1. *The fact of revelation.*—There is a large sense in which all the universe is a revelation of God. The starry heavens tell of his infinitude; the cataracts are his voices; the sunbeams his messengers of love; the immutable laws of nature are solemn preachers of his justice; and even the eggshell thrown from the robin's nest testifies to his wisdom. Since the creation of the world, as Paul says, the invisible character of God, his everlasting power and godhead, has been discerned through his visible works. The rain that has moistened the fields, the food that has filled our hearts with gladness, have been witnesses to God. In the rulings of history he has manifested himself to men, "that they should seek him, if haply they might feel after him and find him; though indeed he is not far from each one of us; for in him we live and move and have our being." The darkening of the mind and the deterioration of the passions are also

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mentioned in Scripture as a revelation, but a revelation of the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness.

This general revelation of God in the structure and order of the material universe and in the moral processes of history has not been useless. The mere fact that all over the world men have had a religion of some kind, that they have groped through the darkness for a God whom they felt to be near, is a serious and pathetic fact. It is as if the race had nearly lost one of its senses or else not yet fully acquired it, and was haunted by strange shadows, calling and beckoning with chills of terror or thrills of blessedness, telling of a marvelous world lying close to us, and yet almost out of reach.

Into this blindness of ours God has reached down and has revealed himself to men by a special historic process aiming toward the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. His revelation has not consisted in the impartation of theoretic knowledge or of a system of truth, but in external acts and inward impressions which gave the recipient an immediate certitude of the presence and power of the Eternal, and some understanding of the character and purposes of God. In many cases it was probably not so much the communication of a new idea as rather a quickening of hopes and thoughts that had been attained in other ways. They had been lying in the mind as surmises and longings; God touched them and they became divine truth and certainty. In other cases there was a penetration of the soul by a divine light and faith, in which it reached out toward the future or up toward God and saw things unseen before and knew them to be truth. Thus did God reveal himself to men and give them knowledge of himself; not the cold knowledge of speculation, but the burning, overpowering knowledge of religious experience. And those who received it declared it to others with that instinct of fellowship and communication which God has attached to the knowledge of the truth as a spiritual instinct of propagation. Of those who heard, some received it on the authority of the faith of those who told them, and passed it on as moral law and traditional religion; but some were led by these declarations to reëxperience it, and perhaps to add to it

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by some view from a still loftier peak of the prophetic Pisgah. Thus a kind of capital of truth has been accumulated slowly; sometimes it has been partly lost again and blurred, then rediscovered and added to.

We can distinguish, then, between two meanings of the word "revelation;" the act of revelation, in which God manifests his life and something of his character and purposes to a prophetic soul; and second the accumulating results of such processes of revelation. The latter are so important, so helpful to the reëxperiencing of actual revelation, that this revealed sum of truth is also called revelation. So especially the Bible, in which we have the record of the revelations of God to holy men; their visions of the character of God; their inspired interpretations of history; and their outlooks into God's purposes for the future. But it must not be forgotten that the Bible is only in a secondary sense "revelation;" it is the result of revelation and in turn an aid to revelation; but revelation in the closest sense of the word is always an act of the living God, a personal contact between his spirit and the spirit of a man, whereby the latter is quickened and enlightened.

We have probably made a mistake in regarding the act of revelation as a very rare act which happened to few men in the world's history; and by thus setting it apart as something rare we have helped to keep it rare. We have put it out of the reach of our own hopes and aspirations. It is true that there have been but few minds in the history of redemption who have been able by the revelations they received to lift the religious life of mankind perceptibly higher; but in the intervals between Abraham and Moses and Isaiah and Paul and Luther and Wesley and Carey there has been a great multitude of souls that have really received divine light from God. There were many prophets in Israel, recognized as such by their contemporaries, of whom we have only a bare trace, and doubtless more who have been quite forgotten. The influence of the great religious leaders alone would have been insufficient to keep the true knowledge of God alive in the damp and chilling atmosphere of the world if there had not been a great throng of souls whose inward life was nourished

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by God, not indirectly, but directly, by personal revelation. Shall we not go farther? Shall we not say that none recognizes Jesus as the Christ of God by mere hearsay or instruction; that flesh and blood never reveal him; that a revelation from God is necessary for it? Paul describes his own experience by that very word: "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me." Is it too daring to say that all really spiritual light is kindled by God himself? Paul was always anxious to cut off all human boasting by throwing us back absolutely on the grace of God for our salvation. Are we then not dependent on God for the light of God, which is one aspect of salvation?

God has spoken, not a few times, but as often as he could find a soul capable of hearing his voice; those who heard him told what they heard and thereby encouraged others to listen to the divine voice and give heed to it, thus passing on the heavenly fire on earth; also something of what they heard and experienced was added to the capital of religious thought which was handed down from generation to generation, and accepted as itself a revelation; and again some part of this knowledge was under God's providence put into writing and collected in our Bible, which we hold in reverence as a precious gift of God, as the great treasure house of revelations and religious experiences.

2. *The incompleteness of the former revelations.*—"God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners." The revelations of God in the prophets were πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, in many parts, and by many methods. They were fragmentary in their contents and varied in their manner.

The entire epistle to the Hebrews is a commentary on this expression of the incompleteness and imperfection of the revelations before Christ. There was a sense of that incompleteness not only in those who had seen perfection in Jesus, but even in those who lived before Christ. The humility expressed in the tone of expectancy, the longing for better things, for a richer outpouring of the Spirit, for a more abundant prevalence of the word of God, is splendid evidence of the real inspiration of the prophets of Israel. They had seen the vision of God and they

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knew there was more to come. They had sought to express what they had heard, and they knew that they were only spelling out the message laboriously and imperfectly. What a daring criticism of the religious life of his own day there is in that splendid prophecy of Jeremiah: "Behold the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah; . . . . I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it; . . . . and they shall no more teach every man his neighbor and every man his brother, saying, 'Know the Lord;' for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them" (Jer. 31: 31–34). He describes there the laborious inculcation of fragments of religious knowledge, which, after all is done, still remain an external possession. The revelations of the Old Testament were fragmentary, not only to those who heard them from the prophets, but also to the prophets themselves. Their constant phrase is "the word of Jehovah came;" and then follows some brief message, and the voice ceases again. The more we search the Old Testament, the more we recognize that it is composed of fragmentary revelations put together. They came to the prophets in relation to some definite event with which they had to deal and concerning which they were assured of God's view and his will. That makes the Bible so definite, so tangible; it never floats off into religious theorizing; it builds no systems; it keeps its feet on the ground; it is intensely practical and historical. But its parts are also by that very characteristic incomplete and fragmentary. There is unity in its diversity; remarkable unity, if one considers the number of men who contributed to it and the period of time covered by their activity; but it is a unity of conviction rather than of thought; a oneness of source rather than of workmanship.

These revelations were also divers in their manner. They had to be, for those who received them were not equally receptive to the word of Jehovah. The pure in heart see God; and the purer their hearts, the clearer their vision. There is a stronger ring in some of the prophetic books than in others, a

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loftier view of God and of Israel's destiny in Isaiah than in Daniel.

But let us turn from the task of pointing out the limitations of the ancient revelations to the more congenial task of exalting the perfect revelation in the Son of God. The writer of Hebrews does not contrast the old with the new in order to depreciate Moses or the Aaronic priesthood, but in order to bring his hearers to a realization of the wealth of privilege in Christ. Many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things which we see and saw them not; and to hear the things which we hear and heard them not. The least in the kingdom of God is greater than the greatest before. But it humbles us to think how poorly we use our privileges. Think of what the great prophet of the exile would have seen and sung about the Servant of Jehovah if he had read the gospels, when he so described the sufferings of the Lamb of God seen dimly and far off.

3. *The culminating revelation in the Son of God.*—"God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds." The revelation in the Son came "at the end of these days;" it inaugurated a new epoch. It brought revelation to its culmination. Let us consider in what ways that is true.

First, the teachings of Jesus gather together the fragmentary perceptions of truth that preceded him and unite them in a grander whole, completing them where they lacked. He said of himself that he fulfilled the law, and he referred, not to his perfect obedience to the law, but to his completion and perfection of its precepts. He forbade not only murder, but also hate; not only adultery, but also lust; not only false swearing, but all swearing; not only unfair revenge, but also moderate retaliation. He also perfected the previous revelations of God's will in the moral law by breaking away the deposit of ritualism and legalism that had encrusted it, and by laying bare the simple and eternal principles on which the laws rested; so, for

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instance, in regard to the law of the Sabbath. His teaching also gathered up and brought to their culmination the previous revelations concerning the character of God. The God of Jesus Christ is as just and holy a God as the God of the Old Testament, but there is no vengeful terror in him, nothing to frighten into superstitious efforts to placate his inexplicable anger. The God of Jesus Christ is surely as loving a God as any that the most aspiring soul in olden times dared to believe in. What a marvelous cry it was that Moses heard among the crags of Sinai: "Jehovah, Jehovah, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow in anger and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin." But that and all the sweetest strains from the prophet of the exile are but as leaves of the plant, the flower whereof is the word that Christ has taught us: "Our Father in heaven." Even if we should consider nothing but the teachings of Jesus, the penetrating moral law, the views of life and the characterizations of God contained in his utterances, we should understand the deepening awe with which our Scripture passage turns from the fragmentary revelations of the past to the culminating revelation in Christ.

But the revelation of God in Christ is greater than the teachings of Jesus. Christ did not receive revelations; he was the revelation. The prophets received communications from God, and knew that they received them. To them it was the distinguishing mark of a true prophet that he received communications from Jehovah, while the false prophet spoke his own mind and fancies. Is Christ ever represented as receiving such communications? We remember several instances of a voice speaking to him from heaven, but even that is said to have been more for the sake of confirming others in their faith than of informing Christ. He drew from the depths of his own nature and consciousness. His words were but expressions of himself. His vision of God and the kingdom was not the ideal of a few hours of exaltation, but was one with his life. The prophets distinguished between the revelation received and themselves. Christ does not. He was one with his message. The word of the

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Lord came to Jeremiah; Christ was the word of God. Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. The Word had become human nature. The prophet could say at times: "He that hears my words hears the words of God;" Christ could say at all times: "He that sees me sees the Father."

There is no higher revelation conceivable for us than this, that a human life should become by nature and experience the complete and clear expression of the will of God for men. There is nothing so intelligible, nothing so universal as a human life

> Where truth in closest words shall fail,
> Yet truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors.
> And so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought.
> Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
> Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
> And those wild eyes that watch the wave
> In roarings round the coral reef.

The same poet has said: "Our little systems have their day, They have their day and cease to be." True enough; there are few things that have so short a day as a system, and there is nothing that lives so long as human nature. Moreover, if the revelation of God was to be for babes, it must not be by a system, for a system demands a trained mind. If salvation were for those who understood a system of truth, salvation would belong to refined brain cells. If Christianity were, as some say, a religion of a book, it would be a religion of the favored classes. But it is not a religion of a book, but of a man, and a man is both the most unfathomable and the simplest object of human knowledge. It requires only a childlike heart, a limpid soul, to understand the revelation of God in Christ. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom."

Christ excels the former revelations because he imposes no outward law. In him the daring hope of Jeremiah, to which we have referred, was fulfilled. The moral law is more incisive, more sweeping, more categorical than ever since Christ, and yet there

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is no legalism in him. He writes his law on our hearts. When we have come to know Christ the law is no longer a barrier without, against which we chafe, but an impulse within, which lifts us and in which we glory. The office of the rabbi who imposes truth from without is abolished. No man need say to his brother: "Sit thou down here and I will teach thee to know God." Now we take our brother by the hand and bring him to meet Jesus, and there he learns to know God by the secret intuitions of love and the molding touches of fellowship.

We have been told that when Dr. H. C. Mabie was at Ongole, in India, he met a number of educated Hindus. They asked him the old question of Lessing's Nathan: "How can we know that Christianity is better than other religions, when all claim to be the best?" He answered with the wisdom of a scribe who has been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven. He did not talk about the proof by miracles and prophecies. He did not reason about the superiority of the Bible to other sacred books. He told them that Christianity was the only religion that offered to prove itself today to anyone who was willing to make a trial of it. Is not that the simplicity of truth? Other methods of proof always address themselves to the disputatious instinct in man. They demand reasoning ability and historical investigation. Those who have not that ability, or have so much of it that they grow weary of it, will succumb and accept on authority, and thus they surrender the freedom of the Christian man and enter into bondage once more. Others accept the challenge and reason; in the worst cases they lose themselves in negations that can never save; in the best cases they secure a degree of probability which always leaves room for haunting doubts. True Christianity puts a man face to face with Christ and bids him see what he can find there. And if he does not fall down at once and hail him with Thomas: "My Lord and my God," but simply tells us of a man surpassing strong and tender, we bid him keep on looking. And slowly the blurring mist of worldliness will drop from his eyes, and his soul will become capable of measuring the stature of Jesus among men, and it may be that he will echo the experience of a great disciple: "The

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Word became flesh and dwelt among us; and we gazed upon his glory, and found it to be a glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth."

Thus to meet God in Christ does, it is true, presuppose the image of Christ, the record of his personality, as laid down in the gospels, or preserved in the heart of the church. Yet the spiritual impress of Christ does not depend on historical investigation, nor is it affected by historical criticism. It is the most solid and indubitable thing in the New Testament and about all Christianity. It is not the record of a dead person, whose deeds belong to history, but the manifestation of a living personality whose present life quickens the image and record of his past life, his spirit bearing witness in our hearts to the truth and grace of his earthly deeds and words.

It is a glorious truth that God has spoken to man; and every fragmentary utterance of prophetic souls, however much it may be colored by their personality and their times, should be precious in our sight if it bears the royal stamp of the divine touch and mission. But we glory in the culminating revelation of God in his Son; in the simplicity and strength of his words; in the obedience and unbroken fellowship of his life, which made him the unsullied mirror for the effulgence of God's glory, the unblurred image of God's substance. He draws us; he masters us; he transforms us. In him we see God; in him we possess God; in him God possesses us.

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THE GOSPEL AND THE GREEK MYSTERIES.

By the REV. AUGUSTINE S. CARMAN,
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THE history of gospel extension in the generation following the death of Christ should include an inquiry as to the extent to which the gospel movement came into contact with the widespread observance of the ancient Mysteries. A false start made by Bishop Warburton and others in the last century, wherein absurd claims were asserted respecting a connection between the Greek Mysteries and the revelation contained in our Scriptures, doubtless had the effect of precluding serious investigation of the general subject for many years; but more recent commentators on the epistles, beginning perhaps with Bishop Lightfoot, have begun to point out some of the clearest indications of the contact between early Christianity and the Mysteries. The present writer has sought to indicate[1] a particular phase of this contact as shown in the use by certain of the New Testament writers of the terminology of the Mysteries. It may be of interest to point out in a more general way the evidence of the fact that the gospel movement came into unavoidable contact with the widely prevailing observance of the Mysteries, and that certain of the New Testament writings make reference, both direct and indirect, to the fact. Each detail of orientalism, each flickering shade of local color, each ghost of a metaphor buried in the language of Scripture, is eagerly sought out in these days of critical research, and the sacred writings grow richer and more luminous with each genuine discovery.

The Eleusinian Mysteries[2] were the most celebrated and

[1] *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October 1893, pp. 613–39.

[2] These mysteries were celebrated in Greece from about the sixth century B. C. until the downfall of the Roman Empire, and hence were flourishing throughout the entire New Testament era.

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typical of all these Greek rites, and they came very early to embody, together with the original mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, those of Dionysos, the Greek counterpart of Bacchus the wine god. There were the Lesser Mysteries, celebrated in the spring at Agra, a suburb of Athens; and the Greater Mysteries, celebrated at Athens and Eleusis in the fall. The latter constituted a nine days' festival, marked by public sacrifices in Athens and a Bacchic procession from Athens to Eleusis and return, this procession, especially upon the return journey, being characterized at certain points by ribald jests and wild orgies. Upon the arrival at Eleusis there followed an all-night wandering march about the region by a procession bearing lighted torches in imitation of the wandering search of Demeter for

A BACCHIC FESTIVAL SCENE: ON THE SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS FROM VILLA CASALI.
[*From Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, p. 442.*]

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her lost daughter Persephone. Then came the waiting of the candidates for initiation with extinguished torches outside the τελεστήριον ("temple"), in darkness and profound silence, until suddenly the doors of the brilliantly lighted temple were flung open, and in a blaze of dazzling light the candidates were admitted to a vision of certain impressive sights and ceremonies exhibited in the dead of night amidst the absolute silence of the spectators. At a given point in the ceremonies, which occupied probably three days and nights at Eleusis, there occurred a sort of sacramental touching, tasting, and handling of certain mystic relics; and a mystic formula or symbol was repeated by the μύσται, or candidates for initiation, as they approached their full initiation, this formula as given by Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius being as follows:

"*I have fasted; I have drunk the cup; I have received from the box; having done* (or *having tasted*) *I put it into the basket, and out of the basket into the chest.*"

Another formula given by Clement and others is as follows:

"*I have eaten out of the drum; I have drunk out of the cymbal; I have carried the kernos, I have insinuated myself under the pastos.*"

This second formula, although referred by some writers to the Phrygian Mysteries, is probably to be referred to the final night of the mystic ceremonies and the initiation into the second stage of the Mysteries at Eleusis.

There were two degrees of initiation, probably taken at intervals of a year. The first degree was termed μύησις (*myēsis*), and the initiate into that degree was called a μύστης (*mystēs*). The second degree was termed ἐποπτεία (*epopteia*) or ἐποψία (*epopsia*), and an initiate of this degree was called an *epopt* or seer. The rites in general were termed τελέται ("perfective rites"), and elaborate rules determined the appointment of the officers and the administration of the ceremonies. Two of the officers whose names appear most frequently in the literature of the Mysteries are the *hierophant* and the *mystagogue*. These terms and many others appear in profusion thereafter, both in the form of direct allusion to the Mysteries and by way of metaphoric use of their characteristic phraseology. For example, the terms *enlighten-*

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ment and *illumination*, suggested by the striking transition from darkness to light in the course of the ceremonies, were speedily transferred to the use of philosophy and religion to express the idea of a transition from ignorance to knowledge or from sin to holiness. The metaphoric use of the word *initiated* to express one's acquainting with previously unknown truth or practice has passed not only into ancient but into all modern speech. The ideas of concealment and revelation of truth, especially of its

INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES.
Relief from a funeral urn in Rome. [*From Stengel, Die griechischen Sakralaltertümer.*]

revelation to certain ones while others are kept in ignorance, mark another characteristic use of the terminology of the Mysteries; and a frequent instance of the adoption of the mystic terminology in ancient literature is the allusion to truths of greater and less importance as belonging to the Greater or Lesser Mysteries. The idea of silence, so impressive and important in connection with the Mysteries, is another which figures largely in the philosophic and religious terminology of Neoplatonism and in the writings of the early church Fathers.

Some instances of this use of the terminology of the Mysteries may be given. For example, Plato compares the contemplation of the "ideas" to the contemplation of the solemn sights and sounds of the Mysteries; Chrysippus calls the discussion of the nature of the gods τελέτη, *i. e.*, initiation; Euripides calls sleep "the Lesser Mysteries of death," *i. e.*, sleep is to death as the

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Lesser Mysteries are to the Greater. The writings of Philo Judæus, who lived and wrote in Alexandria while Christ was living and probably for the greater part of a decade after the crucifixion, are of much significance for the determination of New Testament allusions to the Mysteries, for while there is no evidence in the writings of Philo of his acquaintance with the story of Christ, there is clearest evidence that the apostle Paul and other New Testament authors were familiar with the writings of Philo.[1]

Of the Mysteries themselves there have been the most diverse opinions. It seems likely that there were in them suggestions of lofty teaching, and of the aspiration of the soul after purification, immortality, and fellowship with the divine nature; and that some souls were able to make use of them as an aid to their moral aspirations. On another side they were simply the rites of an agrarian festival celebrating the sowing of

[1] Two paragraphs from the article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* may be quoted entire:

"In the writings of Philo the terminology of the Mysteries is largely adapted to the purposes of his allegorical exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures and of all philosophy. According to this free use of the mystic terminology, Moses himself was "initiated," was indeed a hierophant, as was the prophet Jeremiah. The warning of the sacred κήρυξ ("herald") to all unworthy ones to absent themselves before the performance of the Mysteries began was thus imitated: 'Let the superstitious stop their ears or else let them depart, for we are about to teach those initiated persons who are worthy of the knowledge of the most sacred mysteries the whole nature of such divine and secret ordinances.' Philo makes figurative allusion to the Greater and Lesser Mysteries, thus characterizing truths of greater and less moment, as does Euripides in the allusion quoted above. He refers explicitly to the Dionysiac or Bacchic features in the Mysteries. He speaks of the marriage relation as one of the Mysteries. Moses is called 'the steward and guardian of the sacred mysteries of the living God.' The sudden shining out of light upon the *mystai* after a period of waiting in profound darkness, whence the figure of enlightenment is derived, is referred to."

"Of the extensive use of the terminology of the Mysteries by the Fathers, even while combating their observance, the following passage from Clement of Alexandria may serve as an illustration. It occurs at the close of his *Exhortation to the Heathen* to abandon their profane Mysteries and to accept the higher mysteries of the religion of Christ. He exclaims, 'Then shalt thou see my God and be initiated into the sacred mysteries, and come to the fruition of those things which are laid up in heaven reserved for me, which ear hath not heard nor hath it entered into the heart of any . . . . O truly sacred mysteries! My way is lighted with torches, and I behold the heavens and God; I become holy whilst I am initiated. The Lord is the hierophant, and seals while illuminating him who is initiated, and presents to the Father him who is initiated to be kept forever. Such are the reveries of my mysteries.'"

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seed and the harvest, with the gathering of the vintage. On still another and baser side they were developed into a glorification of the reproductive powers in nature and man, which ever tended to excesses of drunkenness and lust under the sanction of religion. This will explain the terrific denunciation of the Mysteries by Clement of Alexandria and other church Fathers; and will cast sufficiently clear light upon the etymological history of the word *orgies*, which, from being a religious term denoting the worship of Dionysos-Bacchus, the wine god, has come to connote all that is basest in the gratification of human appetite and passion.

What contact had the Christians of the New Testament era with the Mysteries? The answer is to be found in a study of the epistles in connection with the contemporaneous profane history and monumental records of the Mysteries.

We find for one thing sufficient evidence of the prevalence of the Mysteries in Athens, Corinth, Philippi, Rome, Ephesus, and in other cities of Asia Minor; and this evidence from outside the New Testament is complemented by allusions contained in the epistles addressed to these regions. Philippi, the scene of the apostle Paul's first labors on the continent of Europe, is in the direct pathway of the mystic observances which are believed to have come down into Greece from Thrace. Moreover, it is known that a shrine of Dionysos was located in the mountains of Haemus near Philippi, while an elevation still nearer the city was known as the Hill of Dionysos. The suggestion has been repeated frequently by commentators that the girl of Philippi mentioned in the Acts as possessed of a spirit of divination (literally "having a spirit, a πύθων") was a hierodule, or priestess, of the adjacent shrine of Dionysos. When, therefore, we find the apostle using the precise term descriptive of initiation into the first degree of the Mysteries (Greek, μεμύημαι), the most reasonable explanation is that he was making allusion to observances familiar to their common life. The authorized version translates the word "*I am instructed* both to be full and to be hungry." The revised version approximates the original meaning with the translation "*I have learned the secret* both to be filled and to be

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hungry." But the literal statement is "*I have been initiated into the mysteries*," *i. e.*, of contentment both amidst plenty and in want. It seems probable also that the reference in Phil. 3: 12, 15 to perfection contains an allusion to the "perfective" rites of the Mysteries.

As we have in the epistle to the Philippians the use of the precise term describing initiation into the first degree of the Mysteries, so in 2 Peter 1:16 we have an instance of the use of the term describing the initiate into the second degree. It is the word ἐπόπται, the name given to the initiates into the degree ἐποπτεία, as already explained. In both the Authorized and the Revised versions the word is translated "eyewitnesses," but a recent English commentary translates it literally, "eyewitnesses by initiation." The verb form of the same word is found in 1 Peter 2:12 and 3:2, viz., ἐποπτεύοντες, ἐποπτεύσαντες, translated "beholding," the idea doubtless being that of the similar effect induced by the direct vision of deity asserted to be attained in ἐποπτεία and that induced by the sight of holy Christian living.

The prevalence of the Greek Mysteries at Ephesus and elsewhere in Asia Minor would be expected to follow upon the Greek colonization of that region, and that such was the fact is abundantly proved. Strabo, in a well-known passage in his geography (Bk. xiv, chap. 1), has this statement: "(Pherecydes) says that the leader of the Ionian . . . . migration was Androclus . . . . and that he was the founder of Ephesus . . . . Even to the present the descendants of that race are called kings and receive certain honors as . . . . the superintendence of the sacrifices in honor of the Eleusinian Demeter." Moreover, exploration at Ephesus has abundantly proved the existence of the Greek Mysteries of Demeter and of Diònysos side by side with the worship of the peculiar Ephesian divinity whom the Greeks wrongly identified with their Artemis and the Latin Diana, but who was really the counterpart of the voluptuous oriental Astarte, and among Greek divinities, of Demeter, both of them representing a deification of the reproductive powers of earth and man. Among the inscriptions from the site of the temple of

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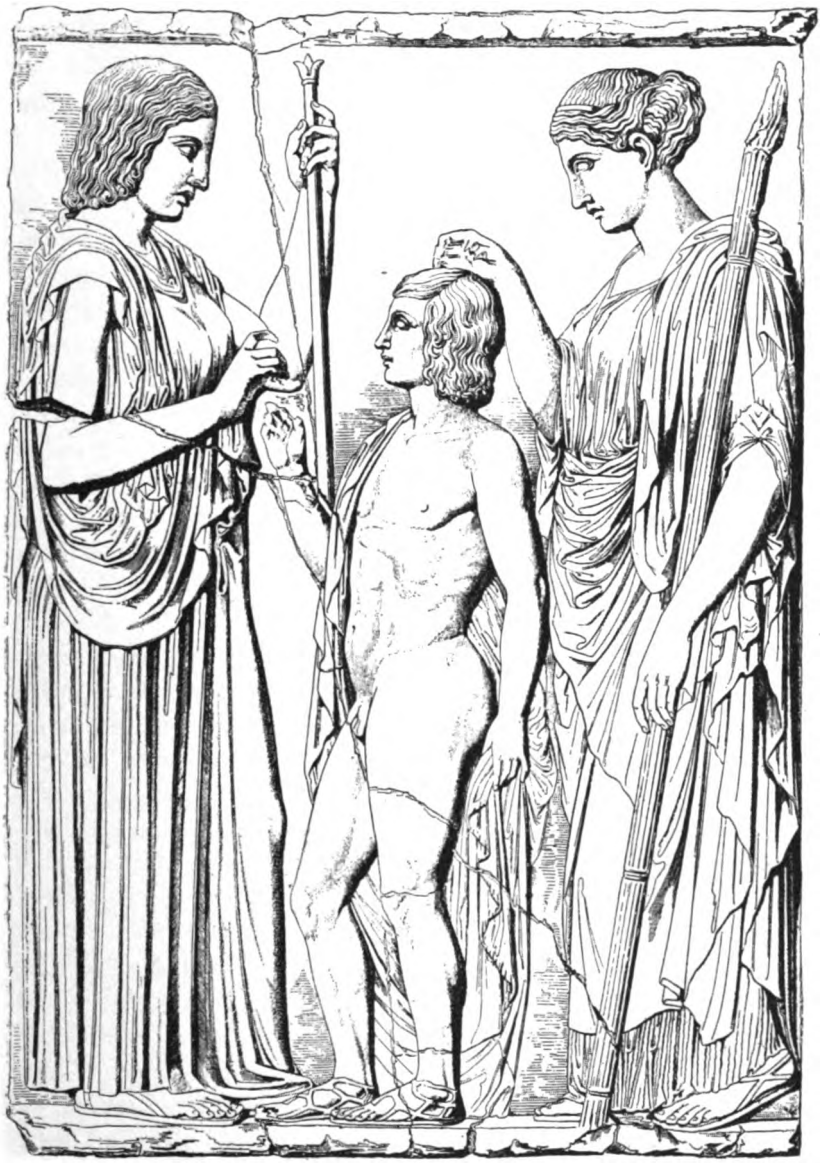

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE WITH BACCHUS.

[*From Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums, p. 413.*]

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Artemis (Diana) given by the distinguished explorer J. T. Wood, of the British Museum, in his *Discoveries at Ephesus*, the present writer has noted the following, which fully prove the presence of the Greek Mysteries at Ephesus. The following from the site of the temple is No. 11 in Wood's list:

"Resolved by the council and the people. Eupalus, son of Cronius, moved, That, whereas, Lysicon, son of Eumelus, of Thebes, proves himself loyal to the people at large, and individually to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him according as each may have invited his aid; it is hereby resolved by the council and the people to commend Lysicon for his merit and good will, and that he be crowned with a crown of gold by the President of the games in the theater at *the festival of Dionysos*," etc. This is but a specimen of many inscriptions containing explicit allusion to the Greek Mysteries, and the following important fragmentary inscription found in the suburb of Ayasalouk, near the temple, clearly indicates the joint observance of the Mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos at Ephesus, just as at Athens and Eleusis:

"Titus Aurelius Plutarchus, being priest for life of the Demetriasts and *mystai* of Dionysos Phleos without the city, Publius Claudius Aristophanes being hierophant and Saturnulus being commissioner of the Mysteries . . . ."[1]

[1] J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Boston, J. R. Osgood, 1877. Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs, No. 3. (On a loose stone found in the village of Ayasalouk, apparently part of a column.)

—ανης, ιερατεύοντος
διὰ βίου τῶν πρὸ πόλε-
ως Δημητριαστῶν
καὶ Διονύσου Φλέω μυ-
στων Τίτου Αὐρηλίου
Πλουτάρχου, ιεροφαν-
τοῦντος Πο. Κλαυδίου
Αριστοφάνους, ἐπιμε-
λητοῦ δὲ τῶν μυστη-
ρίων Σατορνείλου
. . . στουο . . σ . . νος
. . . . . .

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It will accordingly seem in no wise strange that the epistle to the Ephesians should contain instances of the use of the terminology of the Mysteries, and should make, moreover, direct allusion to the pagan rites themselves. The following are cases in point: Eph. 3:4, 5, "Whereby . . . . ye can perceive my understanding in the mystery of Christ; which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men as it hath now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit;" 3:9, "to make all men to see (literally "to enlighten;" Greek, φωτίσαι) what is the dispensation of the mystery . . . . from all ages hid."

The ideas of concealment and revelation of truth, of enlightenment, and of the official communication or administration of these truths, are all contained here, for the words "the dispensation of the mystery" should be "the stewardship of the mystery," precisely as in the passage quoted from Philo above, and as in 1 Cor. 4:1, "Let a man so account of us . . . . as stewards of the mysteries of God."

But a still more interesting light is thrown upon the whole of Eph. chap. 5, when the chapter is read in view of the prevalence at Ephesus of the Mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos with their glorification of lust and drunkenness. The former was euphemized as "sacred marriage" (ἱερὸς γάμος), and the latter as a divine enthusiasm or possession of the wine god, one of the ideas of the state of the blessed after death being expressed by "eternal inebriation" (μέθη αἰώνιος); such other terms also as "enlightenment," "perfection," and the like being used to dignify with religious associations the vilest practices. Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon has indeed called attention to a part of this significance in an interesting article in the *Sunday School Times* for Jan. 12, 1895, on the phrase "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." In commenting on Eph. 5:19, Dr. Bacon says: "In place of the bacchanalian orgies in which the gilded youth of Ephesus had their delight, he recommends the joyous choruses, not only of psalms and hymns, but also of those graceful and exhilarating Grecian melodies that may be joined in Christian wedlock with spiritual words and thoughts." This interpretation seems a fair one, especially if, as seems probable, the

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entire fifth chapter of the epistle is replete with allusions to the alluring and debasing observance of the Mysteries so prevalent in Ephesus and other parts of Asia Minor. This conclusion is the more ineludible from the fact that the comparison of the Bacchic orgies with the worship of the true God was a familiar one at the time through the writing of Philo.[1] Perhaps a free paraphrase of the chapter, designed to bring out the allusions in question, may best present the argument.

A preliminary exhortation (4: 17–32) warns the Ephesian Christians to walk no longer as the Gentiles walk, who have given themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with covetousness; but to put away their former manner of life. Falsehood, violent outbursts of anger, dishonesty, foul speech, and vindictiveness are mentioned as besetting sins of their former state of paganism. They are then warned against the more specious temptations of *vice dignified under the forms of religion*, as indicated in the following paraphrase of chapter 5:

Christ is your model and your sacrifice, fragrant with sweet and holy associations, worthy of being presented to God. But religious rites which sanction fornication and all uncleanness and covetousness, let them not even be named among you; neither filthy and foolish jesting, although these form a part of the wonted observance of the bacchanalian festival. Let no one deceive you by the use of empty phrases such as "enlightenment," "perfection," "sacred marriage," "enthusiasm," and the like, to designate these profane and debauching rites, for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them, for ye were once indeed in darkness, but ye have received the true enlightenment. Walk therefore as children of the light, for the fruit of true enlightenment is in all goodness and righteousness and truth; and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness . . . . for the things done

[1] The following are some of the allusions of Philo:

De Contemp. Vit. 2. "Carried away by a certain heavenly love (they) give way to enthusiasm, behaving like so many revelers in bacchanalian or corybantian mysteries." (καθάπερ οἱ βακλευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες, ἐνθουσιάζουσι.) *Id.* 11, "Like persons in the bacchanalian revels, drinking the pure wine of the love of God." *Cf. De Plantatione Noe* 9; *Legis Allegor.* 26.

In *De Contemp. Vit.* 3, 10, 11, and *De Plantatione Noe* 30, the allusion of Eph. 5:9 to "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" finds close parallel; while in *De Sacrif. Abelis et Caini* 5, and *De Cherubim* 12, 13, 14 marriage is set forth as belonging to "the Great Mysteries."

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by them in secret in their Mysteries it is a shame even to speak of. Their secrecy is explained by their iniquity, for their secret rites cannot bear the light.

Ye have need of all care in these evil days; and it is for you to buy up the opportunity, thus redeeming the time so ruinously wasted by others, as indeed once by you also. Be wise; and seek to know the will of the Lord. In place of the drunken orgies wherein the followers of Bacchus claim to be possessed of their god, be ye filled with the Spirit; and instead of the hymns of the Bacchanalia, speak ye one to another in psalms and Christian hymns and spiritualized odes, with thanksgiving to Christ instead of praise to the god of wine and lust.

Substitute for the prostitution of the marriage relation sanctioned by these Mysteries with their so-called "sacred marriage," and by the gross Artemis (Diana) worship of this region, the high Christian ideal of marriage, modeled as it is upon the relation of Christ to the church and expressing the highest and holiest union. And indeed this relation of the husband to the wife, and especially of Christ to his bride, may be said to belong to the true Mysteries, even to the Greater Mysteries; as is suggested by Philo Judæus. This mystical doctrine of the relation of Christ to the church is of utmost importance. Howbeit see also that your own individual marriage relations be such as befit the followers of Christ.

Many other instances of the New Testament use of this terminology might be adduced, but these should be sufficient to indicate that the Mysteries themselves were among the prominent features of paganism which early Christianity met; and that the New Testament writings are to be read with this fact in mind. The instances of the use of this terminology are for the most part not direct but metaphoric allusions, the writers of the New Testament adopting terms which had entered largely into the philosophic and religious speculations of the time, and sometimes perhaps with scarcely a thought of the original observances. Yet the fact that this terminology occurs most frequently in the writings addressed to regions wherein from external evidence we know of the especial prevalence of the Mysteries indicates its use to some extent for the sake of contrasting the false and frivolous claims of the pagan Mysteries with the higher and nobler claims of the gospel. If for nothing else this study is of importance as proof of the fact that the meaning of the word *mystery* or *mysteries* in the New Testament is not at all what

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it is commonly assumed to be, namely, "something in its nature inscrutable, beyond human comprehension," but simply that of "truth reserved for a time or from unworthy persons, but which it is now the duty and privilege of all to know." That there may be insoluble problems in philosophy and religion is not a point in question; but to quench the spirit of inquiry by relegating some question difficult of answer to a place among "the mysteries" of the gospel is an improper use of a term which implies the duty and privilege of initiation into the truth concealed only from the careless or unworthy.

A WATER JAR FROM CUMÆ,
Adorned with representations of Eleusinian priests and goddesses.
[*From Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 474.*]

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THE MOST URGENT NEED IN OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

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THE thing most urgently needed in our generation in the study of the Old Testament is the careful reëxamination of the Old Testament as it stands.

There are three things from which this is to be distinguished. First, it is to be distinguished from all forms of devotional or merely practical study of the Old Testament. Religion and conduct are the greatest things, but they or their relations to the Old Testament are not under discussion in this paper. Second, the examination of the Old Testament as it stands is to be distinguished from all mere application to it of received theories or traditions or external facts of any kind. Third, it is to be distinguished from all forms of study that start with reconstructions of the text or analysis into original documents. The thing called for is the study of the Old Testament as it stands, as distinguished from the study of its original component parts, and of the way in which they were put together.

The proposition thus defined calls for a form of Old Testament study different from that in which most students are now working; and yet the proposition is here, with all deference to the differing opinions and practices of men, most deliberately and confidently affirmed. Take the Old Testament writings as they stand in the Masoretic text, with only such corrections as are undoubtedly obvious. Use all other sources of information as merely secondary sources. Treat the phenomena which indicate composite authorship strictly with reference to the light they throw on the writings as they stand. On these principles, and within these limits, seek to ascertain the structure and the contents of the writings as we have them, postponing all

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other questions, both of text criticism and of higher criticism, to later stages of the investigation.

The proposition here advocated is not that all students ought exclusively to follow this method. It is that any students who shall follow this method, and reach results, are contributing to the need that is now most urgent in this department of study.

In proof that the proposition is true, consider certain points in the existing situation.

1. First, we have, in the Old Testament as it stands, a body of writings of highly respectable character. To say nothing of divine inspiration, the men to whom we owe these writings in their present form were men of good thinking powers, and of literary appreciation and ability. This is evident from the fact that their work, for generation after generation, has been so highly esteemed. If these writings, as existing for the past twenty centuries, did not possess distinguished merit, the present call for studying them would not exist. The very fact that men are now interested in them is proof that they are deserving of attention.

It is the hexateuchal writings as existing in the books of Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, etc., that have thus attracted attention, and not these writings regarded as the work of men represented by J and E and P and D. It is as collected in our present Book of Isaiah that those poems have commanded the notice of men, and not as existing previously in some other form or connection. So with other instances. It is important to find out, if we can, the earlier forms in which any of these writings existed; but that should not lead us to forget that the form in which they now exist is important, and can never cease to be so. In the case of the writings that are composite, the work done by the editors is important; sometimes less important than that of the original authors, sometimes equally important, or more important, but always important in some degree. The men who put the Old Testament into its present form had high qualities. They had sources of information which we have not. They did their work in such a way that the centuries have put their seal of approval upon it. The probability is that they had

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reasons, even when they followed purely mechanical methods—as, for instance, when they arranged some of the prophetical books on the principle of putting the biggest book first. The Old Testament as they left it is the Old Testament in which history takes an interest.

2. Again, the conditions of Old Testament study are such that in all departments the evidence depends largely on the present text as it stands.

In the text criticism of the Old Testament, for example, conjecture reigns to an extent greater than in most other writings. Very seldom does anyone prefer a variant reading from the Septuagint or the Aramaic or any other source, save upon the ground that the change is required by the context. A large proportion of the emendations that scholars have proposed are based purely on conjecture, and contradict the versions as well as the Hebrew. In the circumstances, how can one be qualified to judge of the correctness of the text, except as he first thoroughly understands the existing text? In the Old Testament, the thorough scientific study of the existing text is the necessary prerequisite to most that is important in text criticism.

The same is true in the problems of higher criticism. In these the evidence consists almost exclusively in the phenomena presented by the text as it stands. How can one rightly estimate this evidence except by becoming thoroughly familiar with the existing text? The process of analyzing a text into documents does not necessarily make one familiar with the text as it stands. One who scrutinizes a text mainly for the purpose of discovering literary criteria is not so very different from one who scrutinizes it mainly for the purpose of finding clauses to use in prayer or in proof of dogmas. All alike may study minutely, and yet fail of an adequate understanding of the text itself. And wherever the student fails to note the true meaning of the text, that is liable to vitiate his use of it, whether in prayer, or as dogmatic proof, or as a literary criterion.

The same is true in our study of the history recorded in the Old Testament, and in all other departments of study in which we may engage. A correct and appreciative knowledge of the

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Old Testament as it stands is essential in them all. Lacking this as a prerequisite, our conclusions in every direction lack decisiveness.

3. Yet again, important as is the study of the contents and structure of the Old Testament in the text that has been handed down, and essential as this is to success in other departments of study, it has of late been relatively neglected.

In the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth this form of biblical study was pursued on a large scale; witness such English names as Ussher, Lightfoot, Prideaux, Hody, Whiston. These men did other things besides study the structure and contents of the existing Old Testament, but they did this thing; and they did it so well that their works and their opinions are still current. The work they did was good, up-to-date work for the time when they lived, though they often followed Josephus rather than the Old Testament, and were too much influenced by patristic tradition, and by theological bias. Thomas Hartwell Horne's great work on Old Testament Introduction, published in 1818, is a monumental collection of the results of the labors of men of this school.

The work of these men in ascertaining the structure and contents of the Old Testament has not, as a whole, been superseded. Parts of it have given way to more recent conclusions. It has been more or less modified and supplemented and patched But it constitutes the basis of nearly all our current statements, and many of the modifications to which it has been subjected are not improvements.

4. But we ought to notice, as another point, that a vast body of additional evidence has been gathered since these men wrought; and that our understanding of the structure and contents of the existing Old Testament is not up to date unless it has been formed in the light of this new evidence.

We are very familiar with the thought that exploration has thrown fresh light upon the Bible. Our knowledge of the geography, the natural history, the archæology of biblical countries; of the recovered literatures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of the history of nations as written in those literatures; and of

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manuscripts of the Old Testament itself, or of related works, gives us greater advantages for Old Testament study. But we should not forget that the extended prevalence of scientific method has brought with it yet greater new advantages. To cite a single example, the laws of the Hebrew tense and of Hebrew noun derivation and syntax, as discovered or popularized by such men as Kautzsch and Driver and Harper, are more important for the understanding of the Old Testament than all that has been done by the spade.

These various sources of light have not been neglected by students of the Bible. In the middle decades of the present century they were very strongly used for throwing light upon the structure and contents of the existing Old Testament. Such works as Kitto's Encyclopædia and Smith's Bible Dictionary and the corresponding works in Germany, such commentaries as the Lange series or the Bible Commentary, with the whole growing swarm of Teachers' Bibles and like publications, bear witness to the industry of biblical scholars in this direction.

But the stress of effort came to be diverted toward a different point. For some decades past scholars have busied themselves with the attempt to resolve the Old Testament into its primitive elements, or with discrediting one another's attempts of this sort. These forms of study have largely superseded the attempt to understand the existing Old Testament in the light of the new facts that are available. Such works as Smith's Bible Dictionary and the Lange Commentaries are regarded by many as utterly antiquated. And it is certainly true that the intellectual movement which they represent was suddenly arrested when it had reached, in its combination of old and new elements, a very unsatisfactory and patchy condition. Just when scholars had well begun to use the new materials, the revolution occurred. For the past three decades energy has been devoted to questions of reconstruction rather than to the understanding of the Old Testament as at present constructed.

5. And so, to make a very broad generalization, we have at present two conflicting opinions, both based on the roughly modified traditions of the seventeenth century.

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The first of the two may be described as the anti-reconstructionist opinion. Its advocates regard themselves as holding the views that have always been held concerning the Bible. They particularly object to attempts to resolve the books into their supposed primitive elements. In words they would at once accept the proposition advocated in this paper. But when it comes to an actual inquiry into the structure and contents of the Old Testament, many of them merely ask what is the correct traditional thing to say on these points, and are not disposed to go further. They prefer to devote their strength to refuting what they regard as the errors of their opponents.

The other opinion may be described as the reconstructionist opinion. Its advocates devote themselves to reconstructing the text by the aid of the versions and of conjectural criticism; to reconstructing the writings themselves by resolving them into the earlier writings from which they were composed; to reconstructing their contents by the aid of materials taken from other sources. With them reconstruction is the first step, and the writings are worthy of serious study only after reconstruction.

No attack is here made upon the current processes of critical reconstruction, as applied to the Old Testament. Among their advocates are men of ability, industry, and high spiritual qualities. A very large part of the work they have done is good work, and will stand. Perhaps the incrustations which had gathered upon the traditional views could not have been broken up and removed by any processes less radical than those which have been adopted. In any case they have their part in the solution of the problems that are now in hand.

But of many of the positions in the reconstructionist opinion it is certainly true that they are based on traditional understandings of the meanings of the Old Testament, and not on minute and careful direct study. When men discover a new Assyrian or Egyptian inscription, they spend weeks upon it; but when they come to compare it with the biblical fact, they assume that the common understanding of the fact is accurate enough for their purpose. Further, many of these positions

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were taken too early to benefit from much of the recently added light from grammar and from archæology. In these and other particulars the current attempts at reconstruction were not preceded by a sufficient study of the Old Testament as it stands. So far as the reaching of final results is concerned, they have been premature. A sufficiently careful study of the existing Old Testament would compel an extensive revision of much that has been done in the way of text criticism and documentary analysis. Merely for the purpose of testing proposed processes of reconstruction, it is necessary to establish a more thorough understanding of the unreconstructed Old Testament. The better we understand these writings as their final authors left them, the better qualified we are to inquire as to the shape in which their final authors found them.

From the point of view of either opinion, therefore, comes this demand for the better study of the Old Testament in the form in which it has been handed down to us. The demand is not that all students shall leave other lines of investigation and turn exclusively to this, but that all shall heed the claims of this form of study, and that some shall devote themselves especially to it. The demand is not that men, under the claim that they are studying the Old Testament as it stands, shall ignore any truths taught by the reconstructionist critics. One can note these and give them due weight, though he himself studies from a different point of view. The demand is simply that the study from this other point of view be done, and be thoroughly done.

6. Finally it is to be said in favor of the kind of study here advocated that it fills the requirements of scientific method, and is likely to be directly fruitful.

Those who go to the Bible to gather proof texts for some doctrine practice a correct inductive method, provided they practice it correctly. Those who gather evangelistic Bible readings bearing on some point in duty or in experience may do this by a correct induction. Those who make inductions along lines marked out by some critical theory, or some supposed law of progress in history, may therein pursue a correct

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and fruitful method. But surely, among these various forms of inductive study, there is room for one which shall have, as its direct purpose, simply the knowing of the Old Testament itself. It is safe to say that, even from a reconstructionist point of view, results reached through this form of study are quite as likely to prove final as those reached through any theory of reconstruction now in vogue. That is to say, the instances in which the whole, correctly understood, will contradict the parts, when these are correctly differentiated, cannot be relatively very numerous.

If we would set to work to study each of the Old Testament writings as the lovers of Browning study a poem of his; confident that the author had a meaning in his mind, that the meaning is worth discovery, and that, with sufficient skill and patience, extended through a hundred readings, if need be, it is discoverable; we should find the Old Testament even better worth our pains than Browning. Of course we are to recognize the possibilities of composite authorship. But if, after three minutes' examination of a difficulty, we are in the habit of pronouncing it insuperable, and seeking a remedy in conjectural reconstruction, then we ought to take lessons from the disciples of Browning. Two or three decades of the application of the Browning-club method to the Old Testament would be very profitable.

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Aids to Bible Readers.

THE HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

THE inner life of any man, his thought, his character, his achievements, his teachings, can be justly estimated only when seen in relation to his outer life—his history in the external sense. This outer life of the individual, again, can be understood only as it is looked at in relation to the history of his times. Jesus Christ, different in marked features from other men, was yet in this respect like them. Alike his outer life, made up of missionary journeys, days of teaching, deeds of mercy and of power, endurance of toil and of suffering, and his inner life, his character and his teachings, are fully intelligible only against the background of contemporaneous Jewish history. And what is true of the life of Jesus is no less true of the lives of the apostles, and the history of the apostolic church.

The recognition of this fact, which is merely a particular application of an almost universally accepted principle of historical study, has given to the history of New Testament times a standing as a distinct and important department both of historical and of biblical study.

One obstacle to the pursuit of this study on the part of those who have had but little experience in historical study is the difficulty of keeping the main features of the record clearly before the mind. The tendency is to lose all perspective in the mass of details. With a view to meeting this difficulty in a measure and to encouraging the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD to undertake this line of study—so helpful as auxiliary to the study of the New Testament itself—the following table of leading events has been prepared. For the sake of connecting Old Testament history with that of the New Testament, the table begins with the return from the captivity. The study of which

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we are now speaking, however, may well begin with the accession of Antiochus IV, in whose reign the Jews began the effort for religious freedom which issued at length in political independence. It need hardly be said that such a table of events is of very little use except as a skeleton to be clothed with the flesh of fuller information. Nor should the student be content with a knowledge of the political history of Palestine in that period. This is indispensable as a basis, but on it should be built as thorough knowledge as possible of the intellectual, social, moral, and religious life of the Jewish people. It is this knowledge that is most directly valuable in the interpretation of the life and teachings of Jesus and his apostles.

The fuller information necessary to give a valuable knowledge both of the political and of the social and religious history is now easily accessible to English readers. A list of books by the help of which this study can be carried on is added at the end of the table.

LEADING EVENTS OF JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE RETURN FROM THE CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY THE ROMANS.

THE PERSIAN PERIOD. 538–333 B. C.

538 or 536 B. C. Return of the Jews from Babylon under Zerubbabel.

458. Ezra came to Jerusalem.

445. Nehemiah came to Jerusalem.

THE GREEK PERIOD. 333–142 B. C.

333. By Alexander's conquest of Persia Palestine was brought under Greek dominion.

323. In the partition of Alexander's empire after his death, Palestine passed with Egypt into the hands of Ptolemy.

200 (*circa*) After repeatedly passing from Egypt to Syria, and back to Egypt, Palestine finally became a part of the dominion of Syria under Antiochus III the Great.

175–164. Reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. When Antiochus Epiphanes came to the throne the Jewish nation had already been affected in no small degree by Greek influence, so that there existed a strong Hellenizing party, opposed, however, by the sect of the Chasidim, the "pious." The high priest

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B. C. Onias III, an anti-Hellenist, was removed and his brother Jason, a Hellenist who promised Antiochus a large sum of money for his appointment, was given the high-priesthood. Under Jason the Hellenizing process went on more rapidly. Menelaus offering a still larger sum for the office of high priest, Jason was deposed and Menelaus appointed in his stead. In 170, Antiochus being absent in Egypt, and it being reported that he was dead, the city was thrown into an uproar and Jason regained the priesthood. Antiochus returning treated the occurrence as a revolt, attacked Jerusalem, massacred citizens, plundered the temple. In 168 Antiochus being defeated in his plans against Egypt turned his anger against Palestine, and undertook the extermination of the Jewish religion and the complete Hellenizing of Judea. The walls of Jerusalem were thrown down, but the old city of David was fortified and occupied by a Syrian garrison. The observance of Jewish rites, the Sabbath, and circumcision, was prohibited. Those who resisted were put to death. In December 168 at the great altar of burnt offering in the temple of Jerusalem a pagan altar was built, and on the 25th Chisleu sacrifices were offered on it.

167. Mattathias, a loyal priest living at Modin, led an active revolt against the oppressions of Antiochus. Seeing a Jew about to offer sacrifice in obedience to the command of the king's commissioner, he slew both the Jew and the royal commissioner. He then fled with his sons to the mountains, and gathered about him those who were willing to fight to secure freedom to worship Jehovah. The Chasidim attached themselves to him. He died within a few months, committing the work to his sons.

166–142. The struggle for religious freedom and political independence under the sons of Mattathias.

166–161. Judas, surnamed Maccabeus. Judas, the third son of Mattathias, succeeded his father as leader of the movement. Gathering an army of 6000 men, he was successful in several battles, regained possession of Jerusalem, and just three years after the pollution of the altar, having cleansed and rededicated the temple, he offered sacrifices on the reconsecrated altar, 25th Chisleu, 165 B. C. In 163 B. C. the Syrian general, being obliged to withdraw his army from Judea to

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B. C. attend to matters at home, granted to the Jews religious freedom, the right "to observe their own institutions as formerly." This freedom was not again denied by Syria. Thus all that the movement originally inaugurated by Mattathias had aimed at was secured. But the Jews were still in political subjection to Syria, and there still existed a strong Hellenizing party opposed to the Maccabees. With a view to acquiring political independence, Judas made a treaty with the Romans. In 161 B. C. he was defeated by the Syrians and slain in the battle of Eleasa.

161–143. Jonathan, the fifth son of Mattathias. The internal conflicts of Syria enabled the Maccabean party to strengthen their position, both against the Syrians and against the Hellenizing Jews. At home the Maccabees gained the supremacy, but Jonathan died in 143 without having thrown off the Syrian yoke.

INDEPENDENCE UNDER THE ASMONEANS (MACCABEES). 142–63 B. C.

142–135. Simon, second and last surviving son of Mattathias. Simon secured from Demetrius II, one of the rival claimants to the Syrian throne, the recognition of the freedom of Judea from tribute to Syria. The Jews reckoned their political independence from this date (142). Later in the same year he recovered the stronghold of Zion, which had been held by the Syrians since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. In 141 the Jews declared Simon high priest, general, and ethnarch (ecclesiastical, military, and civil head of the nation), and made these offices hereditary. In 139 an embassy sent to Rome by Simon obtained from the Roman senate a decree guaranteeing to the Jews unrestricted possession of their territory.

135–105. John Hyrcanus, son of Simon. Judea came once again under the Syrian dominion, but only for a short time, and the independence of Syria then regained was not again lost. John Hyrcanus entered upon a career of conquest, conquering Samaria and Idumea. An important event in his reign was his break with the Pharisees and his alliance with the Sadducees. (This is the earliest point in the history at which these parties are mentioned under these names.)

105–104. Aristobulus I, son of John Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus left his

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B. C. throne to his wife, but Aristobulus starved his mother in prison, imprisoned his brothers, except Antigonus, whom later he caused to be slain, and usurped the authority. He was the first Maccabean to bear the title of king. He made some conquests in the north, Galilee or Ituræa.

104–78. Alexander Jannæus. On the death of Aristobulus, his widow, Salome Alexandra, released his brothers from prison, married the eldest, Alexander Jannæus, and made him high priest and king. His reign was marked by wars of defense and conquest as a result of which he greatly extended the boundaries of the Jewish state, bitter conflicts with the Pharisees, and acts of oppression and cruelty towards the people. It is said that 50,000 Jews perished in the internecine conflicts of Alexander's reign.

78–69. Alexandra. The throne which Alexander had received from his wife he left to her at his death. Her reign was in almost every respect the opposite of his. She allied herself with the Pharisees, and ruled in accordance with their counsel, though her son, Hyrcanus, whom she made high priest, sided with the Sadducees. Her reign was looked upon in after years as a golden age of peace and prosperity.

69–63. Aristobulus II. After the death of Alexandra, her younger son, Aristobulus, having conquered Hyrcanus in battle, compelled the latter to surrender to him the office of high priest and of king. Antipater, the Idumean, son and successor of Antipater whom Alexander Jannæus had appointed tetrarch of Idumea, perceiving an opportunity to gain advantage for himself, allied himself with Hyrcanus, and persuaded him to seek to regain his power. A struggle ensued which lasted till 63 B. C.

THE ROMAN PERIOD. 63 B. C.–70 A. D.

63–40. Hyrcanus II. The Roman general, Pompey, being appealed to by both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sided with Hyrcanus and Antipater; gained possession of Jerusalem, and appointed Hyrcanus high priest, though forbidding him to assume the title of king and depriving him of all the territory acquired by the Maccabees. Thus Palestine really lost the independence she had enjoyed since 142 B. C.

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B. C. Aristobulus was sent a captive to Rome. His son, Alexander, and later Aristobulus himself and his son Antigonus, escaping from imprisonment, made repeated unsuccessful efforts to recover control of Palestine. In 47 B. C., after the death of Pompey, Antipater gave timely aid to Cæsar in his Egyptian campaign, and was rewarded by being made a Roman citizen and procurator of Judea, Hyrcanus being made high priest and ethnarch. The government was in reality in the hands of the Idumean. A portion of the lost territory was restored. Antipater appointed his son Herod governor of Galilee; and a little later Sextus Cæsar, procurator of Syria, set him over Coele-Syria. After the death of Cæsar (44 B. C.), Antipater and Herod attached themselves to Cassius and secured his favor. In 43 B. C. Antipater was poisoned. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius by Antony and Octavian (42 B. C.), Herod and his brother Phasael succeeded in securing the favor of Antony, who appointed them tetrarchs of the country of the Jews. Thus Hyrcanus lost even the appearance of civil power. In B. C. 40, Palestine being invaded by Parthians, Phasael and Hyrcanus were captured by guile, Herod was compelled to flee, and Antigonus, sole surviving son of Aristobulus II, was set up as king by the Parthians.

40–37. Antigonus. Herod going to Rome secured a decree of the senate declaring him king of Judea. After a struggle of three years Herod captured Jerusalem, and Antigonus was carried away to Antioch and beheaded by order of the Romans. Thus Herod became king of Judea in fact, and the rule of the Asmonean family was ended.

37–4. Herod the Great. Herod caused the death of the only remaining male member of the Asmonean family, and by shrewd diplomacy retaining the favor of Rome throughout his reign, held uninterrupted sway. After the battle of Actium, 32 B. C., though Herod had previously been on Antony's side, he shrewdly established himself in the favor of Augustus, who confirmed his title of king, and restored him much of the territory lost by Hyrcanus. The reign of Herod was characterized by vigor of administration, by activity in the erection of buildings and cities, and by selfish ambition, which, joined with a suspicious disposition, led

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B. C. him to acts of the greatest cruelty, including even the putting to death of his own wife and children.

4. On the death of Herod his kingdom was, in accordance with his will confirmed in essential points by Rome, divided among three of his surviving sons. Archelaus received Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the title of ethnarch; Herod Antipas, Galilee and Perea, with the title of tetrarch; Philip, Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea, with the title of tetrarch.

6 A. D. Archelaus, being accused at Rome by a delegation of his subjects, was banished to Vienne in Gaul. His territory was converted into a Roman province of the third class under the name of Judea, and placed under procurators who were to a certain extent subject to the authority of the governor of Syria. This continued to be the status of Judea (including Samaria and Idumea) till the year 41 A. D. Pontius Pilate was the fifth of the seven procurators who ruled during this period, and was in authority A. D. 26–36.

34. After a peaceful administration of thirty-eight years, Philip, tetrarch of the northeastern regions, died. His territory was added to the Roman province of Syria.

37. Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne, received from the Emperor Caligula the territories formerly held by Philip, together with those of Lysanias, with the title of king.

39. Herod Antipas, being induced by his wife Herodias to seek the title of king, was instead deposed and banished to Lyons in Gaul, where he died. His territory was given to Agrippa.

41. The province of Judea (under procurators since 6 A. D.) was also given to Herod Agrippa I. Thus all Palestine was once again a vassal kingdom under a descendant of both the Idumean and Asmonean families.

44. Herod Agrippa I died (see Acts, chap. 12) and his territory was placed under a Roman procurator under the supervision of the governor of Syria.

53–66. Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, received from the Emperor Claudius the northeastern territories formerly held by Philip and Lysanias, and the title of king. To this Nero added a part of Galilee and Perea. Thus southern Palestine was under

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A. D. Roman procurators, and northern—in part also eastern—Palestine was under a Herodian prince, as in the period from 6 to 34 A. D. This arrangement continued till the outbreak of the Judeo-Roman war in 66 A. D.

66–73. The Judeo-Roman war.

70. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

LITERATURE.—Ancient. First and Second Books of the Maccabees, especially the First. The Works of Josephus. The New Testament.

Modern. SCHÜRER, History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ. 5 vols. Chas. Scribner's Sons. $8.00. This is, on the whole, the best modern work. FAIRWEATHER, From the Exile to the Advent. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 80 cents. Gives a condensed history of the Jews in the period indicated in the title; admirable for a book of so small compass. MUIRHEAD, The Times of Christ. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 60 cents. Contains a rapid sketch of Jewish history from Herod the Great to the fall of Jerusalem, but deals chiefly with the social and religious life, discussing it topically. STAPFER, Palestine in the Time of Christ. Armstrong & Son. $2.50. Presents the social and religious life of the people in an interesting form, but is greatly marred by inaccuracy of statement. SEIDEL, In the Time of Jesus. Randolph. 75 cents. In scope similar to Muirhead's book; in general characteristics like Stapfer's, but briefer and more accurate. EDERSHEIM, Life and Times of Jesus (2 vols. Longmans. $2.00), gives in Appendix IV a condensed account of the political history, and in connection with the life of Jesus much valuable information concerning the social, moral, and religious life of the people. These latter topics are treated by themselves topically in EDERSHEIM, Jewish Social Life. Revell & Co. $1.25.

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Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.
30–63 A. D.

THIRD DIVISION.—PERIOD OF GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

Text: Acts 15:36—28:31. Time: Thirteen years, 51–63 A. D. Localities: Asia Minor, Greece, Palestine, Italy. Leader: Paul.

THE principle which had been worked out between 34 and 50 A. D. and formally recognized by the Jerusalem conference at the close of that period, that Gentile Christians were not to be required to conform to Jewish rites and customs, was firmly established during the next thirteen years, 51–63 A. D. This was the special work of the apostle Paul. The Jewish Christians in Jewish localities continued to combine Jewish rites and customs with their Christianity. In Gentile districts the Jewish Christians were in the main disposed to continue their Judaism, but as a result of Paul's strenuous and constant efforts the ceremonial barriers between Jews and Gentiles were to a large extent broken down. The gospel became established as a universal and spiritual religion, independent of Jewish rites and customs, for the reason that the greatest number of Christians were in this period Gentiles, and the most influential churches were those founded by Paul. Gentile Christianity thus prevailed over Jewish Christianity, both in numbers and in influence. It was historically true that the gospel was taken from the Jews and given to the Gentiles, although there was a host of Jewish Christians. They would have weighed the gospel down with ceremonies and limitations inconsistent with its essential liberty and breadth, so that in God's providence the gospel was put into other hands for preservation. It is the record of this great transfer and development, the narrative and the interest concerned with Gentile Chris-

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tianity, which is given by the last half of the Book of Acts, and in the Pauline epistles. This third period witnesses the second and third evangelizing tours of Paul, in which his great work as an apostle of the Gentiles was principally done; then his long imprisonment in Cæsarea and Rome, with his two years' ministry in chains at the capital of the empire. The period closes with the Book of Acts, at the end of the first Roman imprisonment in 63 A. D.

SEC. 18. PAUL'S SECOND EVANGELIZING TOUR.

Acts 15 : 36—18 : 22. 51–54 A. D. Asia Minor, Greece, Antioch

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 15 : 36–40, Preparation for the Second Evangelizing Tour.
Par. 2. 15 : 41—16 : 5, Revisitation of Churches formerly Established.
Par. 3. 16 : 6–10, Paul Divinely Directed to Work in Macedonia.
Par. 4. 16 : 11–40, Incidents of Paul's Labors in Philippi.

(1) vss. 11–15, the conversion of Lydia.
(2) vss. 16–18, the healing of the deranged girl.
(3) vss. 19–24, Paul and Silas scourged and imprisoned.
(4) vss. 25–34, the providential deliverance and the jailer's conversion.
(5) vss. 35–40, release and departure of Paul and Silas from Philippi.

Par. 5. 17 : 1–9, Work and Persecution in Thessalonica.
Par. 6. 17 : 10–15, Brief but Successful Ministry in Berœa.
Par. 7. 17 : 16–34, Paul's Experience in Athens.

(1) vss. 16–22a, the religious condition of the city.
(2) vss. 22b–31, Paul's address to the Athenians.
(3) vss. 32–34, the small success of his efforts.

Par. 8. 18 : 1–17, Eighteen Months of Fruitful Ministry in Corinth.

(1) vss. 1–4, Paul works at his trade and teaches.
(2) vss. 5–11, his rejection by the Jews of the city.
(3) vss. 12–17, the arraignment of Paul before Gallio.

Par. 9. 18 : 18–22, The Return to Antioch from Corinth, by Way of Miletus and Jerusalem.

1. Prepare a concise abstract of the material contained in this

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section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Paul's address at Athens (17: 22–31), reproducing as exactly as possible the thought and spirit of the text.

3. Observe the itinerary of the second evangelizing tour, and the kind of work done: (1) Revisitation in Syria, Cilicia, and Galatia (the territory of the first tour), occupying about nine months. (2) New work in Macedonia, at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa, occupying about nine months, and in Achaia, at Athens and Corinth, occupying eighteen months. (3) Return from Corinth to Antioch of Syria by way of Cenchreæ, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem. (4) Two epistles still extant were written on this journey, First and Second Thessalonians, a few months apart in 53 A. D., from Corinth.

II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *Paul's purpose and fellow-workers of the second tour.*— How long was it after the first tour, and how long after the Jerusalem conference, that the second tour was begun? From whom came the proposal of the first tour (*cf.* Acts 13: 1–3), and of the second? What was Paul's idea and purpose for this tour (*cf.* Acts 15: 36)? Did the plan and extent of the tour change after its beginning, so as to include not only revisitation, but also new work in Greece? What had he to deliver to certain churches, and which ones (*cf.* Acts 15: 23, 41; 16: 4)? Who constituted the party for the first tour (*cf.* Acts 13: 2–5)? Who for the second (*cf.* Acts 15: 36–40)? Why did not Barnabas accompany Paul on this journey? Why did Paul decline to have Mark accompany them, and was he right in so doing? Is it probable that the contention over Mark was rather superficial, while the real disagreement between Paul and Barnabas was of a fundamental doctrinal character, as indicated in Gal. 2: 11–14? Why did Barnabas and Mark go to Cyprus for evangelizing work, and what is known of their subsequent history? Who was Silas (*cf.* Acts 15: 22, 32, 40), and why did Paul choose him as a companion for the journey? What other fellow-workers were added to Paul's company subsequently (*cf.* Acts 16: 1–3, Timothy; 16: 11, Luke)?

2. *The itinerary and time of the tour.*— Indicate upon the map the territory which Paul purposed at the outset to revisit (*cf.* Acts 15: 36, Galatia, the district of the first tour; Acts 15: 41, Syria and Cilicia). Who had established the churches in Syria and Cilicia? Were the

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"decrees" (Acts 16:4; *cf.* 15:23–29) delivered to the Galatian as well as to the Syrian and Cilician churches (consider that Paul makes no mention of this in the Galatian epistle, and that Acts 16:4 may belong after 15:41)? How much time was occupied with this revisitation? How long a period was given to new work in Greece? Indicate upon the map the Greek cities in which Paul preached the gospel on this tour. Describe the districts of Macedonia and Achaia as to geography, chief cities, number and classes of population, and religion. Draw an outline map of the territory covered by this tour, and trace upon it Paul's journey from Antioch of Syria to Corinth. Trace also the return journey of Paul from Corinth by water to Ephesus and Cæsarea, and then by land to Jerusalem and Antioch. In what year was the return made? Why is the Acts record of this second evangelizing tour so meager as to the first part of the journey? Of what portions of the tour is the account fullest, and why? Consider the indefiniteness of the running notes of time, as in 15:41; 16:1, 4, 6; 17:1, 2, 10, 13, 14; 18:1, 11, 18, 20.

3. *Providential checks and pointings in Paul's course.*—What district is referred to in Acts 16:6 as "the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (see Ramsay's extended discussion, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 74–82) on the North-Galatian hypothesis and on the South-Galatian hypothesis? Why had Paul wished to work in Asia (indicate this district upon the map)? Explain the meaning of the statement that he was "forbidden of the Holy Ghost." Why did Paul then turn to Bithynia (indicate this district, and also Mysia, upon the map)? Why was his plan again interrupted? Explain the meaning of the statement that "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not." What was the reason for the call to Macedonia at this particular time? Are we to understand that these providential checks and pointings were of the nature of external directions or internal promptings? Consider the divine assurance given Paul at Corinth (*cf.* Acts 18:9–11). What other instances were there in Paul's career of similar providential guidance? What is thus indicated as to God's care over the establishment of his kingdom on earth?

4. *The finding of Timothy and Luke.*—Was Timothy probably one of Paul's converts on the first tour (*cf.* 1 Tim. 1:2)? State the facts as to his parentage, and his consequent relation to Judaism. How had he been brought up religiously (*cf.* 2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15)? How old was he when he now joined Paul's missionary company? Why was he chosen by Paul for a fellow-worker (*cf.* Acts 16:2; 1 Tim. 1:18; 4:14;

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2 Tim. 1:6)? Why had not Timothy been circumcised in infancy? What were Paul's reasons for having him now submit to the rite (*cf.* 1 Cor. 10:32)? Compare Paul's action here with his refusal to circumcise Titus, as recorded in Gal. 2:1–5. Observe Timothy's subsequent relation to Paul and his work (*cf.* Acts 20:4; Rom. 16:21; 1 Cor. 4:17; 2 Cor. 1:1; 1 Thess. 3:2, 6; Col. 1:1; Phile. 1; Phil. 1:1; 2:19; Heb. 13:23). Consider the significance of the pronoun "we" in Acts 16:10–17 (*cf.* also 20:5—21:18; 27:1—28:16). Does this indicate the accession to the missionary party of Luke, the author of the Acts? Ascertain what can be known concerning the country, nationality, age, profession, personal characteristics, and relation to Christianity of Luke. Where and how did he meet with Paul? Why did Luke join him in his work? Why is his entrance into the history given such slight notice?

5. *The results of Paul's labors in Philippi.*—Locate Philippi upon the map, and ascertain the important facts about the city as it then was —its size, inhabitants, political status, religious condition. Why did Paul begin his work in Europe here? Since there was no synagogue in Philippi, is it probable that there were but few Jews there? What was the "place of prayer" by the riverside (Acts 16:13)? Note and explain the fact that women are so prominently mentioned in the work at Philippi. Were the women of verse 13 Jews and Jewish proselytes? What was Lydia's religious attitude previous to her acceptance of Christianity? Why is her conversion particularly spoken of? What are we to understand was the malady of the girl who had "a spirit of divination"? Was it mental derangement or literal demoniacal possession? Explain the "soothsaying" which she was supposed to perform. How came she to give repeated testimony to the divine mission of Paul and his fellow-workers? Why was this an annoyance to Paul? Why did he not heal her at once, and why did he finally do so? How was her "soothsaying" a source of gain to her masters? What revenge did they take upon Paul and Silas for releasing the girl from her unfortunate condition? Consider the circumstances of the jailer's conversion. What was his religious condition previous to his relations with Paul and Silas? Explain the directions given him (16:31) as to how he might be saved. Consider these Philippian Christians as types of what the gospel was to do for pagan peoples. As to the success of Paul's work in this city compare the epistle to the Philippians, which indicates that the church he now founded here was one of the most faithful and best of all which he established.

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6. *Roman persecution of the Christian missionaries.*—Was this Roman persecution of the gospel missionaries at Philippi the first (recorded) instance in which the Romans actually opposed Christianity? Who had been up to this time the instigators of, and for the most part the actors in, the uprisings against Paul and his work (*cf.* Acts 13 : 50; 14: 2, and elsewhere)? Was this Roman hostility at Philippi directed against the Christians as distinguished from Jews, or against Paul and Silas as trouble-making Jews without reference to their Christianity (*cf.* Acts 16 : 20)? It was not then an intentional persecution of Christianity as such? What precedent for the persecution of the Jews by the Romans had been lately set at Rome (*cf.* Acts 18 : 2)? Explain the immediate occasion of the Philippian persecution. What were the customs set forth by Paul which it was not lawful for the Philippians to receive or to observe (vs. 21)? What was done with Paul and Silas? Why was their dismissal ordered the next morning? Why did Paul insist (vss. 36, 37) on a formal release? Had not Paul made known to the authorities the day before that he and Silas were Roman citizens? How had Paul obtained Roman citizenship (*cf.* Acts 22 : 25–28)? What did such citizenship secure to a person in Paul's position? Why did Paul and Silas leave the city after their release?

7. *Gospel work in Thessalonica and Berœa.*—Ascertain all that can be known about Thessalonica and Berœa as they then were. Why did Paul choose to preach the gospel there? Were there more Jews in these two cities than there were in Philippi? What were the three points of Paul's teaching to the Thessalonian Jews? How was this teaching received by them? Were his main converts, however, from among the devout Gentiles? Was the church founded here mainly Jewish or Gentile (*cf.* 1 Thess. 1: 8–10)? How long did Paul work in Thessalonica? Study the Thessalonian epistles as fully as time permits to learn of the character and success of Paul's work in Thessalonica. Consider that he largely supported himself by manual labor during this ministry (*cf.* 1 Thess. 2 : 9; 4 : 11; 2 Thess. 3 : 6–15). Did he also receive money from friends (*cf.* Phil. 4 : 16)? Recount the circumstances under which Paul and Silas left Thessalonica. What was the charge made against them (Acts 17 : 6, 7; *cf.* Luke 23 : 1, 2)? How much truth was there in it? How different was the treatment which Paul and Silas received at Berœa? Why were the Jews here so tolerant and docile? Were there many Gentile converts also? Is it to be understood that a church was established at Berœa, as there had

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been at Philippi and Thessalonica; if so, why is no mention made of the fact anywhere?

8. *Paul's experience at Athens.*—Observe (Acts 17:16) that Paul was only passing through Athens, it not being his intention to attempt the establishment of the gospel here at this time; why not? Ascertain something about Athens as it then was, politically, socially, religiously. Secure if possible a map of the city, and locate upon it the market place (vs. 17) and the Areopagus (vss. 19, 22). How was Paul impressed with Athens? How did he undertake to reach the citizens with the gospel while he was among them? What did they understand was the substance of his message (vs. 18)? Was Paul given a fair hearing; if so, why? What was the Areopagus, and why was Paul taken hither to give his formal presentation of Christianity to the Athenians? Consider the audience whom he addressed, as to their intellectual and religious views, their mental habit, and their capacity for taking hold of new truth. What was the purpose of Paul in his address? Make out an analysis of the thought: (1) introduction, vss. 22, 23; (2) God's relation to the material universe, vs. 24; (3) God's relation to men, vss. 25–28; (4) the nature of God, vs. 29; (5) his moral government of men, vss. 30, 31. Did Paul thus preach the unity and majesty of God, and the dependence and brotherhood of man? Observe the skill with which Paul attached his teaching to the strange altar in Athens. Consider carefully the exact meaning of "somewhat superstitious" (vs. 22, in Greek *deisidaimonesterous*, which is not well translated in the Revised Version, for the term was used by Paul in a good sense, not with reproach). What are the chief characteristics of the address? How far did the Athenians accept Paul's presentation of religious truth? To what points did they object, and why? Was it in any degree due to the manner or substance of Paul's teaching on this occasion that the gospel found no greater favor in Athens at this time? Was there a Christian church at Athens in the apostolic period?

9. *The establishment of the Corinthian church.*—Locate upon the map the city of Corinth, and ascertain something of its history previous to the Roman restoration in 46 B. C. What was the political and commercial importance of Corinth in Paul's time? What was the moral and religious condition of the city? Why did Paul select it as a field for work? State what is told about Aquila and Priscilla. Were they already Christians when Paul found them in Corinth? If so, where had they come into contact with Christianity? When and why did the Roman Emperor Claudius order the Jews to leave Rome? How long

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was the edict in effect? Describe Paul's trade of tent-making. Why did he work at it here in Corinth? How did Paul begin his gospel ministry in Corinth (Acts 18:4; *cf.* 13:43; 14:1; 17:1–4, 12; 18:19)? Explain the phrase (18:5) "constrained by the word." How did the Jews receive his teaching? Why were they not able to drive him out of the city, as at Thessalonica and other places? What course did Paul pursue when rejected by the Jews? With Acts 18:6 compare 13:45, 46, 51. What success had Paul among the Gentiles of Corinth? What was the nature of the vision given Paul at this time (18:9, 10)? What was the purpose of the vision? Ascertain what is known about Gallio and his office here mentioned. By whom, when, and why was Paul brought before him? Compare Acts 16:19–24. Why did Gallio refuse to hear the case? Was this a proper ruling, from the point of view of Gallio's judicial office? Why was Sosthenes beaten by the court officers? Explain the words (18:17) "Gallio cared for none of these things." Is it right to cite Gallio as an illustration of religious indifference? How long did Paul carry on his gospel work in Corinth (18:11; *cf.* 18:18)? Was the outcome of the work a large, strong body of believers, some of them Jews but the great majority Gentiles? Study the Corinthian epistles as fully as time permits, to learn of the environment in which the Corinthian church was founded. Note that during the early part of Paul's period of work in Corinth he wrote the two epistles to the Thessalonians.

10. *The return to Antioch and results of the tour.*—In what year, and at what time of the year, did Paul leave Corinth to return to Antioch of Syria? Where and what was Cenchreæ? Are we to understand from 18:18 that it was Aquila or Paul who had the vow referred to? What was the nature and purpose of this vow? What significance has the incident if the vow was Paul's? Was there, in fact, anything in Paul's principles which would deter him, under favorable circumstances, from performing a vow (*cf.* Acts 21:20–26; 1 Cor. 9:19–23)? Trace upon the map Paul's route from Cenchreæ to Ephesus. Had Paul ever been at Ephesus before? Why did he wish to stop briefly there now? When had he previously purposed to work there, and what had deterred him from doing so (*cf.* Acts 16:6)? How was Paul received by the Jews at Ephesus? Why did he not stay longer with them at this time? Whither did he go from there? Are we to understand from the phrase (18:22) "he went up and saluted the church" that Paul visited Jerusalem before going back to Antioch? Was this Paul's fourth Christian visit to Jerusalem (*cf.* Acts 9:26; 11:30; 15:2)? What was Paul's purpose

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in this visit? What did the visit accomplish? Why is so slight reference made to it? Why did Paul return to Antioch at the close of this second evangelizing tour? Reviewing now the tour as a whole, what was accomplished in the way of revisitation of churches already established, and how much time was given to this branch of the work? How many new churches were founded, and at what places? How much time was occupied with the new work? Which of Paul's extant letters were written on this journey? How important for the spread and truth of Christianity was this work which Paul and his fellow-workers were doing?

III. Observations and Teachings.

1. *Organization.*—No information is given in the Acts or Thessalonian epistles concerning the organization of the Christians which were the result of Paul's labors.—It is to be understood, however, that elders were appointed in each community, according to the custom adopted upon the first tour (*cf.* Acts 14: 23).—When Paul wrote his letter to the Philippians from Rome in 63 A. D. he mentioned in the address "bishops and deacons;" the bishops were the same as the elders, but just when the deacons were first appointed in the church of Philippi, or in any church, cannot be known.—Paul addressed the Christians in Thessalonica as the "church of the Thessalonians" (1 Thess. 1: 1; 2 Thess. 1: 1), so that the term "church" was used at least this early of the local body of believers (*cf.* Acts 15: 41; 16: 5).

2. *Environment.*—Paul uniformly taught first among the Jews of each place, and with some success; then, when they became opposed to him, he turned to the Gentiles with the gospel.—The Jews do not seem to have been numerous in Macedonia and Achaia; only in Thessalonica were they sufficiently strong and intolerant to drive Paul from their city, and later from Berœa.—The first persecution of the Christians by the Romans was at Philippi, but it was against Paul and Silas as being troublesome Jews, not against Christianity as such.—Gallio, when Paul was brought before him by the Jews of Corinth, refused to interfere with Paul's activity, judging it to be not in conflict with the provisions of the Roman law.—Thus Judaism was losing its power against the gospel, and the Roman government was giving it protection.

3. *Institutions.*—Neither in the Acts record of this journey nor in the Thessalonian epistles is there reference to the observance of Sunday or of the Lord's Supper; it may, however, be understood that such observance existed, as the latter certainly, and the former probably, were

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established before this time.—Baptism is again mentioned in connection with the conversion of the Philippian jailer.—The Jewish custom of performing vows seems to have been observed by Paul in one instance, for some unrecorded reason.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—In presenting the gospel to the Jews Paul argued the Messiahship of Jesus by showing from the Old Testament prophecies how it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead.—The Jews were for the most part not convinced, however; and Paul's converts were chiefly from the Gentiles, especially from those devout ones who were regular attendants upon the synagogue services.—At Athens Paul was spiritually impelled to preach against the polytheism of that city of learning and culture; he presented Christianity in its highest form, teaching that there was but one God, wholly spiritual, made manifest in nature and in revelation as Creator, Sustainer, and Governor of the entire physical and moral universe, of whom all men are sons, and through whom all men are brethren.—But the teaching about Jesus and the resurrection was politely scouted by his Athenian hearers.

5. *Daily life.*—The wise and energetic labors of Paul and his fellow-workers, Silas, Timothy, and Luke, arouse supreme admiration; with such missionaries and such a message Christianity must speedily prevail in the world.—The new Christians showed by their lives the purity, joy, and exaltation of the gospel which they professed (*cf.* 1 Thess. 1 : 10, and elsewhere).

6. *Divine guidance.*—Paul was providentially directed on this tour to take up the gospel work in Macedonia and Achaia, Ephesus and its province being left until a later time.—He was given assurance at Corinth that the work he was doing was God's work, and he would be prospered in it.—Through Paul and his fellow-workers the universal and spiritual religion of Christianity was introduced and essentially established among the Gentile peoples.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 168–215; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chaps. 24–28; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chaps. 8–12; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xiv; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 178–269; Church in the Roman Empire, pp. 74–89; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 252–302; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles, Aquila, Areopagus, Asia, Athens, Barnabas, Berœa, Bithynia, Cenchræa, Claudius (Cæsar), Corinth, Ephesus, Gallio, Luke, Lydia, Macedonia, Mark, Mysia, Philippi, Priscilla, Prison, Scourging, Silas, Thessalonica, Timothy, Troas.

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Work and Workers.

THE Columbian University, of Washington, D. C., has voted to establish a school of Biblical Literature at that university, and has appointed Rev. Edward B. Pollard, who took his degree of Ph.D. at Yale in 1893, to fill the chair.

THE LIFE of the late Professor Drummond is to be written by Professor George Adam Smith. Anyone having letters or other matter likely to be of use to Professor Smith is requested to communicate with him at 22 Sardinia Terrace, Glasgow, Scotland.

IT IS announced by Messrs. T. & T. Clark that Professor W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., has undertaken to prepare the volume upon *The Life of Christ* for the International Theological Library series. There is great need for a new single-volume life of Christ which shall give the best results of recent New Testament study in a comprehensive and constructive way. Much will be expected of Dr. Sanday, and there is reason to think that he will not disappoint the public.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS will publish immediately *The Apostolic Church*, by Arthur C. McGiffert, professor of church history in Union Theological Seminary. This volume is in the International Theological Library, edited by Dr. Charles A. Briggs and Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., of Aberdeen, and is published conjointly by the Scribners and T. & T. Clark. The aim of the series is to cover modern theology in a series of systematic and thoroughly scientific expositions which shall fairly represent the attainments of theological science at the end of nineteen centuries.

IN the *Sunday School Times* of July 24, 1897, S. Schechter, M.A., of the University of Cambridge, gives a most interesting account of his recent visit to Cairo in search of Hebrew manuscripts. He was given free access to the *genizah* or lumber room of the so-called Synagogue of Ezra the Scribe, and has brought back to England some forty thousand fragments of Hebrew manuscripts. These are all stored in the University library at Cambridge, awaiting study. As yet it is pos-

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sible to give only the most general account of the character of the material. But what is reported is enough to excite great interest. Fragments of the Hebrew Old Testament, remnants of the oldest form of the worship of the synagogue, a large collection of psalms, and fresh fragments of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus have already come to light.

THE following new German publications of interest to students of the Old and New Testaments are announced as forthcoming: Bonwetsch, N.: *Die Apokalypse Abrahams. Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer* (M. 2); Sellin, E.: *Israels Güter und Ideale*, I (M. 6); Steinmetz, R.: *Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Paulus* (M. 3.75); Vollert, W.: *Die Lehre Gregors von Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen* (M. 1.20); Zahn, Th.: *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Bd. I (M. 8.50). All these are published by A. Deichert's Nachfolger (Geo. Böhme), Leipzig. The firm of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, in Göttingen, has the following announcements: Clemen, C.: *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, 1 Thl.; Nestle, E.: *Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament* (M. 7.80); Rogge, Ch.: *Der irdische Besitz im Neuen Testament* (M. 1.60). Karl Marti is publishing with F. Bull, in Strassburg, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (M. 4).

THE REV. E. R. WOODMAN, a missionary in Tokio, Japan, writes the editors of the BIBLICAL WORLD that he is about to undertake the publication of a biblical magazine in the Japanese language which shall aim to meet the needs of the Japanese Christian preachers, evangelists, and teachers of the Bible. The journal will contain articles translated from foreign magazines and books, and original articles contributed by missionaries and native Japanese Christians. The editorship will be in the hands of two foreigners and two or three natives. He greatly desires financial assistance in order to insure the success of the enterprise at the outset. Fifty dollars, he writes, will insure its publication for six months, at the end of which time the magazine would, he hopes, be on the way to self-support. The editors of the BIBLICAL WORLD will take pleasure in receiving and forwarding to Mr. Woodman any contributions toward this enterprise.

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Notes and Opinions.

"Anointing with Oil," James 5 : 14.—This is an acknowledged *crux*. In Roman Catholic theology it is, in connection with Mark 6 : 13, the *sedes doctrinæ* for the dogma of extreme unction, although it is even here acknowledged that this is not the direct teaching of this passage, and Roman Catholic theologians such as Cajetanus and Baronius have expressed their doubts whether James is here at all speaking of this sacrament, on the ground that he has in mind not only those who are sick unto death but the sick in general (*cf.* Herzog, *s. v. Oelung*). Nor has there been anything like a consensus of interpretation among Protestant exegetes, although the preponderance of opinion has been, especially among the Lutherans, that the apostle has here in mind the charism of healing mentioned, *e. g.*, 1 Cor. 12 : 9. The tendency in this direction has been strong, as can be seen from the latest Meyer commentary on James. In the preceding editions Huther had virtually dropped the idea of miraculous cures, but so sober-minded an exegete as Beyschlag, in his fifth (and latest) edition of the German Meyer again takes it up. In Reformed circles there were at least some who saw nothing miraculous here. Thus, *e. g.*, Lightfoot in his *Horæ Talmudicæ*, on Matt. 6 : 17, after stating that in Mark 6 : 13 the ordinary use of medicine was meant, paraphrases the passage James 5 : 14 thus: "That is, to the ordinary medicine, anointing with oil, namely, for health, let there be added the prayer of the ministers of the church." The same idea in substance is expressed by Schoettgen, in his *Horæ Talmudicæ*. On this passage he says: "The instruction of James teaches us in cases of sickness not to think of the physician before we do of prayer, which we read in the sacred Scriptures was reproved also in Uzziah, king of Israel." Both authors then give confirmatory citations from Jewish literature.

To see in this passage an exhibition of the apostolic gift of miraculously healing the sick involves serious difficulties. The passage is so general and the statement made without any limitations that this view leads to results that cannot possibly have corresponded to actual facts. One, and that too a serious difficulty, is already formulated by Hot-

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tinger, who says: "If the issue of such prayer had been certain and uniform no one would ever have died." It would have been possible for the early Christians to prevent death for any length of time. Nor are matters bettered any by such purely subjective evasions as that of Beyschlag, who says that "we must presuppose that whenever the elders or the sick saw that it was the will of the Lord to call the patient hence they did not make the attempt at a cure or else did not take offense when such an attempt ended in a failure." There are absolutely no facts extant to substantiate such a view. Again, the interpretation which makes the passage refer to a miraculous cure presupposes that this gift of healing was to be found in every congregation, and that here the bearers of it were the holders of a certain office, namely, that of elder. Of such a thing, again, there is not a single evidence in New Testament or early Christian literature. Others, again, have resorted to a figurative interpretation of the whole passage, referring it not to bodily but to spiritual ills. Thus Lange furnishes a symbolical paraphrase in these words (*cf.* Commentary, *ad locum*): "Is a Christian as a Christian wounded and sick in his Christianity, let him seek healing among the kernel of the congregation, namely, the presbyters. Let these pray with him and for him, and anoint him with the oils of the Spirit. Certain it is that he will in all cases be healed and his aberrations will be forgiven." Yet the whole passage, especially those words that speak of healing and sickness, show plainly that the physically sick are meant and not those that are spiritually ill. In fact it seems that too much has been sought for in this *locus classicus*. A superficial reading of vss. 13–18 shows that the main purpose of the passage is to demonstrate the power of prayer. The fact of anointing in case of sickness is entirely subordinate. The fact that this is given a participial shape, ἀλείψαντες, anointing, shows that it is the secondary or subordinate act that accompanies the chief act, that of prayer. The anointing with oil is here nothing more or less than the application of an ordinary medicine for the sick, this to be done with the prayer that God would bless the use of his ordinary means to the healing of the sick. In the Orient oil was and is yet the chief and most common medicine used (*cf.* such passages as Isa. 1:6; Mark 6:13; Luke 10:34). Pliny 23:38 reports that the Jews used oil for the cure of headaches. On account of its wonderful penetrating qualities oil was currently used for many ailments. Josephus (*Antiq.* 17, 6, 5; *B. J.* 1, 33, 5) makes mention of oil baths among the Jews (*cf.* Ecclus. 39:31; Jer. 31:12; 41:8). The apostle

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here advises that in case of sickness the ordinary medicines be applied "in the name of the Lord," which expression modifies "with oil," and not the preceding participle, as is indicated by the order of words. The application is to be made not with trust in the medicine as such but in the blessing of God which is to accompany this application. The apostle proceeds from the deeper principle that everything depends upon the blessing of God, and without this blessing the regular means of healing the body cannot have their effect. It is a pastoral warning and advice given by the practical James that the sick should be taught to depend, not upon the medicine as such, but upon the prayers that accompany the medicine to make it effective. This, too, at least to a considerable extent, explains why the administration of this medicine should be left to the elders and not entrusted to the physicians. While the statement of Pliny, 29 : 5, "Many nations live without physicians, yet not without medicine," was not true of the Israelites; yet the medical art was not developed in Israel as among the Greeks or the Egyptians. We know that among the Hebrew physicians there were also some who were prophets (*cf.* 2 Kings 4 : 21 ff.; 5 : 10; 8 : 7 ff.; 20 : 7; Isa. 38) and according to the law those who were cured of leprosy were to show themselves to "the priests," who were the final judges as to the healed, who, to use an expression of Winer, as *Polizeiärtzte*, had not the real function of healing, but had the oversight over certain classes of sickness (*cf.* Luke 17 : 14). The priests were really more likely to have medical knowledge of certain kinds, as their daily sacrifices gave them an insight into the anatomy and other peculiarities of the body not readily possessed even by the regular physician. James, too, evidently looks upon the anointing of the sick with oil as having more religious and ecclesiastical significance than medical.

With this interpretation the difficulties of the passage and its connection materially decrease or entirely disappear, since it is a prayer and not a magic art upon which the healing depends. Then, too, this prayer is a "Christian" prayer, *i. e.*, is subject to the conditions of Christian prayer; and the futures of vs. 15 are to be understood, not as absolute, but as conditional. These prayers will be heard under the condition under which all Christian prayer will be accepted. This additional element is as necessary a factor in the idea of Christian prayer as it is in the idea of prophecy. A prophecy was fulfilled unless the conditions changed; if these changed, as in the case of Nineveh and Jonah, the prophecy was not carried out. Prayer will be heard

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if in conformity with the will of God and if for the benefit of him that prays. This proviso of all Christian prayer must be assumed in vs. 15.

Nor does the close of vs. 15 imply that anything but physical ailment is here meant. Even if this physical ill can be traced to a specific sin, this shall not only not prevent the healing, but even, in answer to a believing prayer, this sin itself shall be forgiven. The power of prayer extends even over this, the source of all ills.

In fact the passage in question is a pastoral admonition for Christians to remember that everything depends upon God's blessing, and that even in sickness they should learn not to expect everything or even anything from the medicine itself as such, but rather from the blessing of God, that alone can give these means their healing power. The principle is thus one of deep significance and of eminent practicability even today for pastoral theology.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FUTURE STATE POSSESSED BY THE ANCIENT HEBREWS. By the REV. PROFESSOR A. ROBERTS, D.D., University of St. Andrews. *Expositor*, May 1897.

In his recent edition of Butler's *Analogy* Mr. Gladstone makes in a note (p. 342) the following statement: "The religion of the Jews in no way rested upon future rewards and punishments." This conception is as erroneous as it is prevalent. Three passages at least of the New Testament (Heb. 11:13–16; 24–26; Matt. 22:31–32) must be ignored, as they have been hitherto overlooked, if such a view be held. The first passage implies that the patriarchs had as the great motive power of their lives a faith in a future heavenly home, the second that Moses realized the "very quintessence of faith with respect to the reality and rewards of a future world" in refusing Egyptian rank for patriotic endeavor, and the third that Abraham after death possessed a body as well as a soul, a fact which Christ says (vs. 29) the Sadducees should have recognized in these words long before.

But these things being so, what explanation can be given of the fact that Moses, "the human author of the Jewish religious system, although a steadfast believer in immortality, makes no reference in his enactments to the doctrine of the future state"? Warburton's theory that this silence on the part of Moses simply accentuates the supernatural character of the Jewish dispensation, and Dean Stanley's, that it was overshadowed and crowded out by the greater truth, the consciousness of the living actual presence of God himself, are both to be set aside. The true reason is to be found in the fact that Moses realized that "the people were not then prepared for such a revelation nor would they have profited by it." "Rewards and punishments in *this* life they could understand, but they were too 'brutish' to feel the influence of what was future and unseen."

Professor Roberts has attempted to show two things: first, the New Testament teaches that the Hebrews had a knowledge of the future life, and, second, the silence of Moses with regard to the doctrine was due to accommodation. The first thesis, it must be confessed, is supported in a novel manner and by rather unsatisfac-

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tory data. The writer's exegesis of the passages in question is not compelling and he seems to have no regard for what may be briefly termed historical perspective. The second proposition has certain features which commend it strongly to a large class of biblical students. The article as a whole reflects a characteristic attitude of mind better calculated to produce ingenious treatment than substantial results.

H. F. M.

JESUS THE IDEAL MAN. By the REV. JAMES M. WHITON, PH.D. *The New World*, June 1897.

The statement that Jesus is an ideal man raises two questions: (1) Does the record of the evangelists represent Jesus as the ideal man? (2) Was he really such?

If the subject of the gospel biography is presented as not altogether faultless, the result perhaps of unskilful hands in author or copyist, there is none who does not to some extent feel the necessity of going behind such returns. But in so doing one must be on guard against his own subjectivity. The fault-finder assumes to understand the situation and the speaker better than does the speaker himself.

The criticism of Jesus' character arises today from higher perceptions of what an ideal character should be than existed formerly; yet the imputation of moral defect and weakness to Jesus rests on an imperfect apprehension of the facts. To those who feel that this is a species of special pleading, an appeal is to be made to Jesus' consciousness, and here Christ was certainly unique in realizing the essential oneness of the human nature and the divine, and is thus the ideal man. But since his consciousness is such as it is we must give him the benefit of the doubt in examining details of his conduct. And when they are thus examined nothing is found to invalidate the judgment that Jesus is the Ideal Man.

The article of which the above is a synopsis is soberly written, and must from its candid concessions be attractive to honest doubters. It must be doubted, however, whether the author is right in acknowledging that the modern adverse criticism of Jesus' character arises from "higher perceptions of what an ideal character should be." It may be so with Dr. Martineau and a few such conscientious and scholarly men. But such criticism is conceivably due to other causes. There are at least four possibilities. Either the "higher perceptions" are erroneous, or the exegesis is faulty, or the records imperfect, or the person of Christ un-ideal. Dr. Whiton assumes that the exegesis of the critics is faulty — a compliment to them from the moral standpoint, but from the intellectual rather adverse. Dr. Paulsen calls agnosticism a "mood" of the mind. Might not a fault-finding tendency be a "mood" impervious to counter-shafts of criticism?

C. D. C.

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Book Reviews.

ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ. **Sayings of Our Lord** from an early Greek papyrus; discovered and edited with translation and commentary by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A., and ARTHUR S. HUNT, M.A. With two plates. Published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, London. Pp. 20. Price 2s.

Our readers have already had general information concerning the interesting discovery recently made by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Among several hundred papyri found in the rubbish heaps at Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus on the edge of the Libyan desert, 120 miles south of Cairo, was a single leaf written on each side in Greek uncials and containing a number of sayings of Jesus. One page is decipherable without much loss or difficulty, while the other, though less distinct, is also intelligible in large part. The sayings are apparently eight, and are as follows:

1. *Καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.*

2. *Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.*

3. *Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἔ[σ]την ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχή μοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ανθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοί εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶ[ν].*

4. *και . . . . βλεις . . . . [τ]ην πτωχεία . . . .*

5. *[Λέγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν [. . . .] ε [. . . θεοι καὶ [. .]σο ε[. .] ἐστιν μόνος [. .]τω ἐγώ εἰμι μετ' αὐτ[οῦ]· ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμί.*

6. *Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτ[ο]ῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν.*

7. *Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, πάλις ᾠκοδομένη ἐπ' ἄκρον [ὄ]ρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηριγμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι.*

8. *Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἀκούεις [ε]ἰς τὸ ἐ[νώ]πιόν σου . . . το*

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These sentences are thus translated by the discoverers:

1. . . . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

2. Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.

3. Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen by them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart . . . .

4. . . . . poverty . . . .

5. Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . . and there is one . . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I.

6. Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.

7. Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and established, can neither fall nor be hid.

8. . . . . unto thy face (or presence) . . . .

Of the six reasonably complete sayings, No. 1 is identical with Luke 6 : 42, except for the position of ἐκβαλεῖν. The first clause of No. 6 is very similar to Luke 4 : 24, and employs the word δεκτὸς, which is used by Luke alone, while the second clause recalls strikingly Luke 4 : 23. But this apparent relationship with Luke's gospel to the exclusion of the others is rendered doubtful by No. 7, in which there is a parallelism with Matt. 5 : 14, with a possible conflation with Matt. 7 : 24, 25.

The chief interest naturally attaches itself to Nos. 2, 3, 5, where we have expressly attributed to Jesus sayings wholly without parallel in either the canonical or apocryphal gospels. These sayings give rise to many perplexing critical questions, but afford too few data for any safe conclusions. No. 2, as translated by the editors, is strongly Jewish, but it is not impossible that it is intended to be taken somewhat metaphorically, the two accusatives being those of specification. This is certainly possible in the case of τὸν κόσμον, the sense being "except ye fast as respects the world," *i. e.*, do without it, abandon it. In the second half such a construction is less probable, as the Greek expression is the ordinary cognate of the Septuagint for "keeping the Sab-

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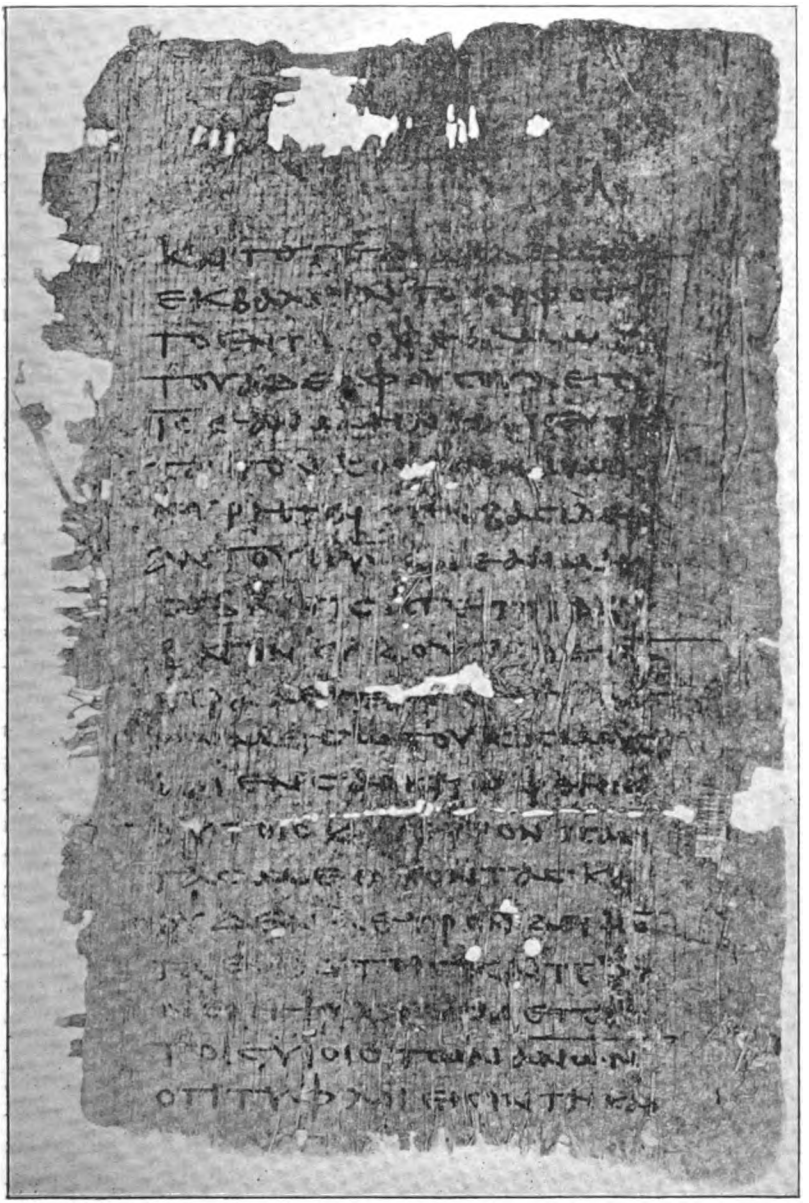

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bath." None the less it is possible that the thought, as Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt suggest, is that of "making the Sabbath a real Sabbath;" or even of treating the observance of the Sabbath as work which itself should be avoided by the Christian. But while such an interpretation is not impossible, in the absence of any distinct knowledge as to the general character of the volume from which this page comes, the probabilities seem to be preponderatingly in favor of the Jewish-Christian origin of the sentence.

No. 3 is so complete as to make its meaning unmistakable. It is certainly novel, but hardly has "the genuine ring" of which the editors speak. It rather sounds like many another extra-canonical saying of Jesus, in which a saying or thought of the canonical gospels is overlaid or otherwise changed by an attempt at pseudepigraphic or apocalyptic writing.

No. 5 is by all means the most remarkable of these *logia*. Despite its imperfect shape, it is easy to see in its first sentence an echo of Matt. 18:20. But the second half, noble as it is in suggesting the possibility of having Christ's presence even when engaged in work (unless it is to be interpreted as meaning that Christ is in all things, or that effort must precede attainment, or indeed, finally, as mystical), cannot escape the same suspicion as that aroused by No. 3, viz., of a reworking by some of the many teachers of early Christianity—possibly of one of the gnostic sects.

Taken altogether, therefore, it is not easy to see that these few *logia* add anything to our knowledge of the teachings of Jesus. If they were written, as their editors seem justified in claiming, somewhere between 150 and 300 A. D., and were in any way representative of a widely accepted gospel, it is certainly remarkable that they have not in some way left more distinct traces of themselves or of their kind in ecclesiastical literature. The utmost that one dares at present to say of their value is (1) that they certainly throw light upon the nature of collections of *logia*, such as that of Papias; and (2) that it is possible that they represent a collection of genuine and apocryphal sayings of Christ made by some early Christians with Jewish-gnostic tendencies, with which Egypt teemed. It would be more satisfactory if one could add that they throw a direct light upon the synoptic problem, but such is not the case. So far from appearing like bits of an original gospel lying back of Matthew and Luke, they much more clearly hint at conflation or at other reworking. Whether this reworking was wholly intentional may be uncertain, but that we have here any

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light upon an original Hebrew Matthew, a "gospel to the Hebrews," or a "gospel according to the Egyptians" seems absolutely without likelihood. It would be somewhat less hazardous to conjecture that they may be a bit of the λόγια κυριακά of Papias. But for even this there is little evidence. It is to be hoped that among the hundreds of papyri discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt there may be some that will throw light upon this fragment. S. M.

Die Sprueche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht ueberliefert sind. Eine kritische Bearbeitung des von Dr. Alfred Resch gesammelten Materials. Von JAMES HARDY ROPES, Instructor in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. Pp. viii + 176, 8vo. Texte und Untersuchungen, xiv + 2. M. 5.50.

Although the *Agrapha* of Dr. Resch published in 1889 in the same series was the first attempt to treat the subject fully and scientifically, it has not yet been superseded either as a thesaurus or as a critical study. As a thesaurus, indeed, it will probably be the standard authority for many years to come unless our acquaintance with early Christian literature is materially extended.[1] The critical value of the work, on the other hand, is seriously impaired by the writer's over-eagerness in his pursuit of *agrapha* which sometimes blinds his judgment, and by the influence of his theory of the origin of the synoptic gospels which he has since developed in his *Extra-Canonical Parallels.* These defects made a fresh examination of the material not only desirable but necessary. Hence the present volume by an American scholar trained under Professor Harnack.

The method pursued is simple but satisfactory. The seventy-four *logia* of Resch, forty-eight of his ninety *apocrypha* (thirteen of the 103 given in *Agrapha* being "apostolic apocrypha," and therefore outside the subject) with about thirty additional sayings—155 in all, including one accidentally omitted from the text and inserted in the appendix—are first separated into three classes. The first of these comprises the sayings which have not been really handed down to us as extra-canonical sayings of the Lord (1–73). The second consists of sayings which have been falsely ticketed as the Lord's through slips of memory (74–84). The remainder (85–154) are the *agrapha* proper. These last are again analyzed into three groups. Forty-three (85–127)

[1] This sentence was written before the discovery of the Λόγια.—ED.

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are decisively rejected as historically worthless. The next thirteen (128–140) are pronounced of uncertain value. The remainder (141–154 are considered to be probably genuine. There is a slight want of correspondence between the statement of this classification on page 13 and the application of it in the course of the book.

These results seem disappointingly meager when compared with those of Resch. Whilst the latter finds seventy-four *logia* our author can discover only fourteen for which there seems to be good evidence, and thirteen others which deserve further consideration. Moreover, of these twenty-seven which are either accepted or not rejected only eleven are found in the German scholar's list of *logia*. Eight of the remaining sixteen are held by him to be apocryphal.

This striking divergence of opinion is on the whole well accounted for. Each saying is considered separately and the evidence for it (or rather the important part of the evidence) is carefully sifted. The work is very well done and the conclusions are likely, in most cases at least, to command the assent of unprejudiced readers. The exceeding slenderness of the testimony which Resch has found sufficient for several of his *agrapha* is clearly shown. A striking illustration of the urgent need for care and judgment in this department of research is supplied by the remarks on No. 16 (*logion 31* of Resch). The ascription of the words, "The Lord knoweth them that are his" (2 Tim. 2: 19), to Jesus is effectually refuted by the discovery of the clause in the Greek translation of Num. 16: 5.

If Professor Ropes has erred it is in the direction of excessive caution, but in a matter of such moment as the discussion of sayings ascribed tc Jesus Christ this is distinctly preferable to excessive credulity. On two points perhaps there is room for a little modification. It is frequently, if not constantly, assumed that the writers of the canonical gospels would be acquainted with and would be sure to insert a saying of Christ on any subject of great interest to the early church (see the remarks on Nos. 21, 46, 72, 91, 101). Is this assumption imperative? Again, the illustrations from the *Pistis Sophia* are rejected on the ground that a third-century writer cannot for a moment be thought of as having at his disposal special traditions of value about the Lord and his teaching. Is not this also too positive a statement?

The additional matter includes twelve passages from the New Testament and New Testament manuscripts, eight passages from the *Pistis Sophia* not cited by Resch, and a number of sayings from various

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sources. One of the *logia* is taken from the Talmud. There are also fresh illustrations of previously known sayings, and an important excursus on the gospel according to the Hebrews.

The whole work is characterized by sober judgment and accurate scholarship. There is a trifling slip on page 49. The reading of the Lewis codex in Mark 13:37 is not "uni" but "vobis." The German reads well and the errata are remarkably few for a book printed in Europe whilst the author was in America. It is to be hoped that an edition in English will be issued for the many students who cannot read German.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Grammatik des biblischen Aramaeisch, mit den nach Handschriften berichtigten Texten und einem Wörterbuch. Von PROFESSOR DR. HERMANN L. STRACK. Zweite grösstentheils neuarbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. 38+47, 8vo. Bd., M. 2.30.

This second edition of an already well-known and much-prized little book is a great improvement on the first. The text and vocabulary remain unaltered, but the grammar has been considerably enlarged and rearranged. There are two fresh chapters, namely, an introduction which includes a bibliography and a short section on prepositions; and many additional illustrations from the inscriptions and from Syriac. The volume is still very small but can be obtained bound as well as stitched, a point of considerable practical importance. No student of the Old Testament in the original ought to be without it.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

LITERARY NOTES.

PROFESSOR W. F. ADENY, known to many of our readers as het author of a volume on New Testament Theology, has recently published a book entitled *How to Read the Bible; hints for Sunday-school teachers and other Bible students*, which we take great pleasure in commending to those for whom it was prepared. It is full of good sense and wise suggestions. Part I treats of Principles and Part II discusses How to study the various parts of the Bible. His principles are so briefly stated and so just that we are tempted to quote them in full, but prefer rather to recommend our readers to buy the book itself. (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 50 cents.)

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MENTION was made in this journal some months ago of a little book on *Christian Character; A Study in New Testament Morality*, written by Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick, B.D., and published by T. & T. Clark in their series of Bible-class primers edited by Professor Salmond. The same author has now issued a companion volume entitled *Christian Conduct; a further Study in New Testament Morality*. In this volume the author deals with (1) The Family; (2) The Work of Life; the Necessity of Labor; (3) Social Relations; the Law of Love; (4) The State; (5) The Church. The purpose of the book is evidently distinctly practical and ethical. It aims not so much to present a systematic statement of the New Testament ethical teachings from the New Testament point of view as to apply New Testament ethical principles to present-day problems. In the main we think Mr. Kilpatrick is successful, though we observe one or two instances of what seem to us conspicuous failures to hold to New Testament teaching. (Scribner's, 20 cents.)

IN the same series Professor Laidlaw of Edinburgh issues a primer of 93 pages on *The Miracles of Our Lord*, which presents in a different and much condensed form the substance of his larger work, *The Miracles of Our Lord; Expository and Homiletic*. (Scribner's, 20 cents.)

REV. ALBERT E. WAFFLE'S little volume entitled *Christianity and Property; an Interpretation* (American Baptist Publication Society) is also a study in New Testament ethics applied to modern problems. It is very carefully and soberly done, and though the interpretation of New Testament teaching is perhaps too much determined by appeal to what is reasonable rather than by direct exegetical evidence, the results reached are not materially affected thereby. We hope the book will have many readers. It cannot fail to do much good. Certainly modern Christian practice in the matter here discussed is still far below the New Testament standard.

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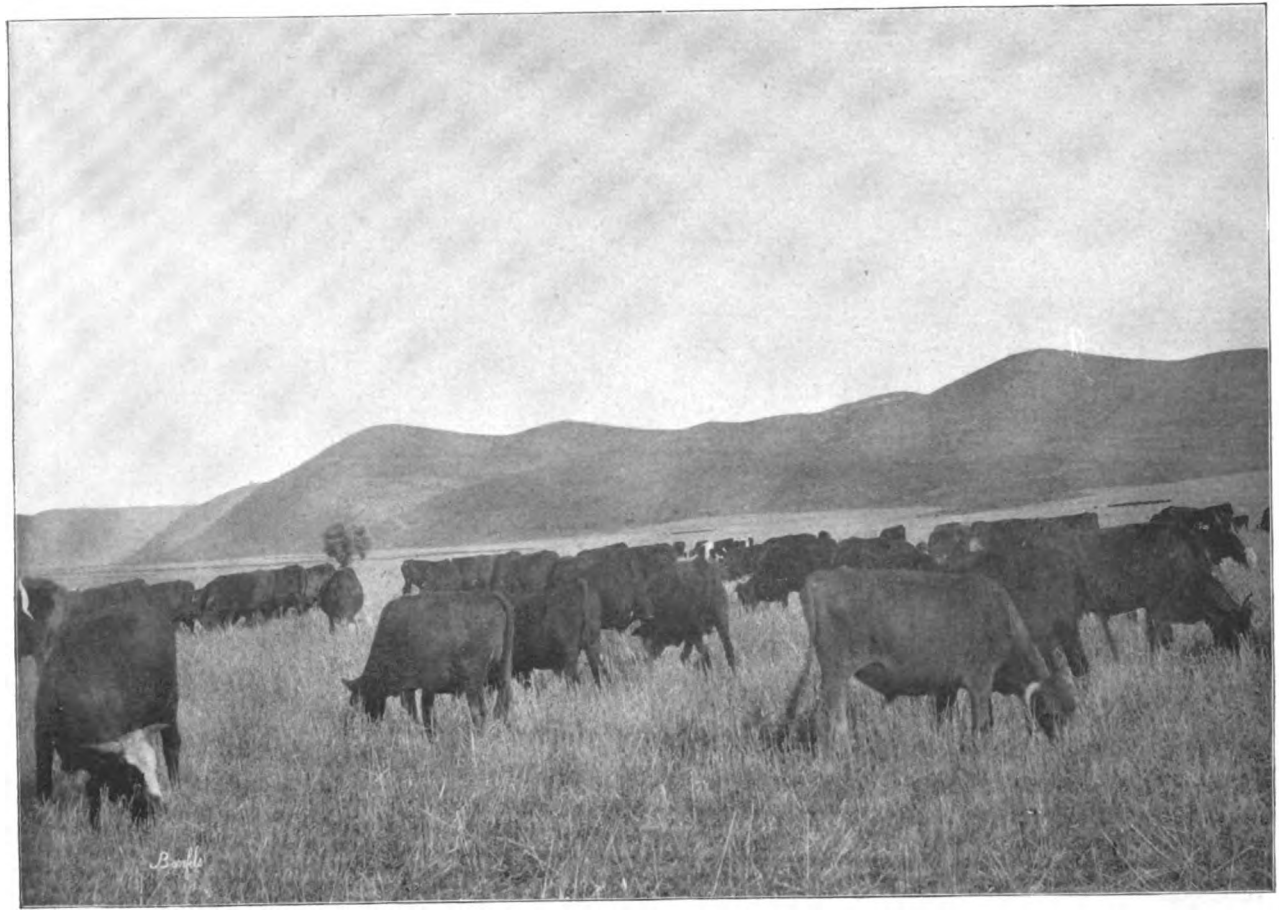

THE PLAIN OF JEZREEL AND THE MOUNTAINS OF GILBOA

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME X SEPTEMBER, 1897 NUMBER 3

CONTINUANCE OF CRITICISM

THE questions now being answered in the realm of biblical study are by no means so simple as they were once thought, nor are they growing any too rapidly fewer. Although progress has undoubtedly been made in the constructive work of criticism, its results have as yet by no means been so generally accepted as to leave certain matters beyond further testing and possible rejection. To a greater extent than many sanguine persons declare are both testaments still in the crucible, and it would be by no means strange if a generation were to pass before anything like uniformity of opinion were reached. In the meantime investigation will continue, new difficulties must be overcome, new hypotheses be tested, old truths be restated. Such an era can hardly fail to be like that in which we live—one of discussion and uncertainty. Even now questions at stake, though in reality largely outside the realm of religious experience, are so intimately joined with those that relate to that which is most precious in religious life, that it is impossible for them to be considered in entire separation one from another, and they are and will inevitably be judged from the point of view of faith as well as from that of science The composition of the Pentateuch and the authorship of the Psalms, though in themselves purely literary questions, lead through a text or two of the gospels, straight to the depths of Christ's consciousness, and are becoming the shibboleths of

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orthodoxy. The relations of the synoptic gospels to each other and to the fourth gospel, are judged altogether incapable of investigation apart from the doctrine of inspiration and the divinity of Christ. Criticism and faith are bound up together in the bundle of Christian thought and will not be put asunder

Who shall be Arbiter?

If it be unwise to ignore the certain continuance of criticism it is equally unwise to disregard the danger of carrying its purely literary and historical questions, involving so many old and cherished beliefs, to the wrong court of appeal. Already, in the absence of any acknowledged infallible arbiter, friend and foe are appealing to whatsoever man or group of men seem to exhibit any interest whatever in the question under consideration. Volunteer champions offer services as earnest as they are often ignorant, and the argument of the investigator is forgotten in the literature of controversial peacemakers. But there is no agreement as to who shall sit in in judgment on the case. Reason undoubtedly must be supreme, but *whose* reason?

The Unchristian Scholar?

Is the irreligious scholar, no matter how great his linguistic or other acquirements, fitted to pronounce final judgment? In many particulars it must be granted he is singularly well fitted. He has the alert, disciplined intellect that is needed in the weighing of evidence and the reaching of conclusions. He has the mass of data before his eye and induction has become habitual. But as a man whose sympathies are not with religion, whose interests lie with the literary form rather than with the moral content of the Scriptures, he is not competent to pronounce final judgment. His opinion is not worthless and may be often helpful, but the history of biblical study is full of the failures of such men to apprehend the truth of the Scriptures and hence the truth about the Scriptures, because of their inability to break free from a hostile bias. The absence of sensitive sympathy and the intuition of moral and religious truth and harmonies, which are indispensable for dealing satisfactorily with even the literary

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side of Scripture, invalidates their judgment, as the absence of poetic sympathy invalidates the decisions of any student of poetry.

Shall then the question be referred to the decision of the unlearned in full belief that *vox populi vox dei?* In politics it is the commonest custom for those who would appeal to the prejudice and baseness of men to hold up to ridicule the attempts of "theorizing professors" and "unpractical reformers." Nothing is easier than to flatter masses of men into a conviction that their patriotism and political sagacity are far superior to that of the scholarly investigator of social questions. In politics men who thus illegitimately endeavor to set "the people" against other classes are recognized as demagogues—scandalous travesties of true popular leaders, no less dangerous than contemptible. For "the people" have never shown themselves omniscient, indeed they have seldom failed to bring misfortune upon themselves whenever they have attempted to conduct governments after excluding men of education and professional training. It may well be doubted whether the wisdom or the patriotism of the Jacobin was greater than that of his victim.

THE THEOLOGICAL DEMAGOGUE?

These things may in a figure be transferred to the sphere of theology. Admitting the limitations of unchristian scholarship, is it anything less than demagogism to proclaim that scholarship is untrue to its trust, and that the only real supporters of truth, the sole persons capable of deciding questions in biblical study are the unlettered, the unthinking "people?"

Suppose the charge against scholarship be made without this unworthy spirit, is it any the less fallacious?

As we reject as final the opinion of the unchristian scholar shall we accept as final that of the unscholarly Christian? It is impossible to deny the value of the judgment of an unlettered, pious man in matters of morals and religion. As out of the mouths of babes and sucklings was ordained praise, so to the uneducated and simple have been sometimes revealed things hid

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from the wise and prudent. Were the questions raised by criticism exclusively those of conduct, the conditions of their solution would be radically different. But they are historical and literary, and competency to grasp intuitively a truth in morals and religion does not imply competency to pronounce upon questions that are literary and historical. On the sole ground that he is "spiritually minded" the opinion of a man is worth no more concerning the authorship of the Pentateuch than it is concerning the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. How could it be? Does deep religious experience by itself reveal historic and critical facts to the untaught mind? Will it tell who wrote the book of Esther or the number of Passovers in our Lord's ministry?

THE UNSCHOLARLY CHRISTIAN?

But the antithesis is untrue to facts when choice is narrowed to the unscholarly Christian and the unchristian scholar. For is the scholar always irreligious and without spiritual experience? Is he by the mere fact of his scholarship an outcast of the Lord's flock, and, with strange reversion of the Pharisee's word, because he knows the law, is he accursed? May it not be possible that in the midst of his daily labor over the words and sentences of the Bible he as well as the unlettered man may have glimpses of God's truth, and as he draws near to sacred mysteries sometimes catch an accent of the Holy Ghost as well as of the grammarian? Does one so quickly forget that Jesus judged the scribe who became a member of the kingdom, capable of bringing forth treasures from his learning? Let us have done with this demagogue's trick of playing class against class in the world of theology and rather recognize the capacities of all its members. For may not they meet in some man or men?

The most trustworthy court before whom to try the causes of the higher criticism and all other forms of biblical study, is composed of men who have both the proper religious and the proper literary training. Such Christian scholars are by no means as numerous as we might wish, but they are by no means uncommon. Trained in exact habits of investigation and thought, they are yet honest believers in the

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR

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truths of Christianity; seeking to be impartial in their search for truth, they count the testimony of religious experience one of the data upon which to build inductions; with broader horizon than the unlettered believer, they have his faith in a risen Lord. Infallible they cannot be, but they are less likely to fall into error than men who have faith without knowledge, or knowledge without faith, and in their hands (if one may venture to prophesy) will lie whatever settlement of critical questions our generation or its successor is likely to attain.

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JESUS AS A TEACHER.

By CHARLES F. THWING, D.D., LL.D.,
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THE personality of the teacher is of primary importance. Its importance is no less in the constitution and character of Jesus, the teacher, than it is in the character and constitution of any one who is a teacher. Great teachers are great personalities The philosophic truth underlying the oft-repeated and wise remark of Garfield in reference to Mark Hopkins, himself the log, is that a great manhood is a prerequisite of great worth as a teacher. The power of the elder Agassiz as a teacher—and his power as a teacher was as great as his power as a scientist—lay in his vigorous and enthusiastic personality. The great work that Andover Theological Seminary did in the middle years of this fast-dying century was done more largely by Edwards A. Park than by any other member of a faculty distinguished for its able and great men. The power of Park was derived, and is still derived, be it said with gratitude, largely from his virile personality. If one should ask American students whence they received greater advantage in college, from their teachers as teachers or through these same men as persons, the answer would without doubt be that the personality of their teachers was of far greater worth than any instruction which they conveyed. Students forget teaching. They never forget the teacher. Therefore, the personality of Jesus, the teacher, is of primary importance.

In the personality of Jesus, the teacher, are two conspicuous elements. The first I shall call unity. This unity was constituted of the elements of his character through a union of contradictories. His personality was symmetrical, but its symmetry was composed, like a circle, of curves, which were so joined together as to constitute a beautiful and perfect whole. For in

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him are found elements which do not usually coëxist. He was a philosopher, and dealth with general truth. He was also a scientist, for he dealt with truth most specific and individual. He was possessed of imagination, and certain of his sentences lack only rhythm to make them poetry. But he also was a metaphysician, dealing with abstractions. He loved truth, but he also loved men. He cared for individuals, and some of his most significant sermons were preached to a single hearer; and he also was a master of assemblies, and the very title of The Sermon on the Mount may be significant of the greater number whom he was able to address on the supreme occasion. His first words recorded refer to his being about his heavenly "Father's business;" and yet he was a dutiful son to Mary and to Joseph. Many remarks of his show that he was a mystic, and yet there is evidence for believing that he possessed great practical ability. He combined the intuitive capacity and the executive. He knew that he possessed large power, and yet his power was so great that he had the power to give up his power. In face and form and temperament he had the delicacy and purity of a woman, and yet we know he was possessed of masculine strength and vigor. We have no record that he was ever sick, and yet we know how sympathetic he was with sickness. Apparently, though always in health, he had none of that brusqueness or indifference that often goes along with perfect health. We believe that he never sinned, yet how forgiving he was of sinners! His education was like that of most Jewish youths of that time, largely biblical and rabbinical, yet the record is that he "knew what was in man." His will was persistent, and yet it was not unwilling to yield. His conscience and moral nature were pure and white, yet he was not of hardness of spirit or arrogance. He gave himself thoroughly to others, yet he was himself self-contained and reserved. He did not neglect rites and ceremonies, and yet he knew what was essential and what accidental and incidental. In many respects he was conservative, and yet he combined in himself many elements of radicalism. He lived much with men, yet the individuality of his character was retained. Often he went away alone from the

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crowds that flocked about him, yet he was no ascetic. He seemed equally at home in Judea and Galilee. He united what we call the heathen virtues of self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control, with what we are pleased to denominate the "Christian graces." In a word, he joined together elements of character which we usually regard as contradictory. His personality was a unit because of the union of these opposing elements.

A second element of his personality was the simple element of love. He was love. Love was the spring of his coming, love the parable of his wisdom, love the miracle of his work, love the life he lived, love the death he died. He was both the message and the messenger of love. In every man who proposes to be a teacher love is of supreme significance. The great schoolmaster of England in the first half of the century was Arnold of Rugby. Not so great a scholar as some of his contemporaries, he was greater than any one in the love which he had for the boys under his charge. It was his love for them which has made the few years in which he was master a red letter time in English educational annals. Archbishop Whately said of him, "He was attached to his family, as if he had no friends; to his friends as if he had no family; and to his country as if he had no friends or relations." In the last years of the century a similar example is seen in Benjamin Jowett of Balliol. It is not as the translator of Plato that Jowett has lived in English life and is to live. It is not as a great scholar in either Greek or philosophy that Jowett has proven to be or is to be a power. Rather Jowett passes into English and human life as the master of Balliol College, and the master of Balliol College was a man who loved his students. One of his students, Mr. Harrison, writes of him: "I had been struck down at Oxford by diphtheria. Jowett sent me fruit and books — Boswell's Johnson and Miss Austen's novels, and beef tea from the college kitchen; and often braved the risk of infection to come and sit with me, and talk with me, and cheer me up. So it was now again at Malvern, where I lay ill on his hands for some time, having caught a mixture of scarlet fever and measles which was

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going about the neighborhood. He was kindness itself—as tender and solicitous as a woman." In a word, Jowett got no small share of his power over Englishmen through loving them. Christ was love. This was the chief element of his personality, as his personality is the great element in him as a teacher.

Next in importance to the personality of the teacher is the content of what he teaches. It is at once to be said that Christ left no writings. It is significant that the great teacher of the Greeks and the great teacher of the Jews wrote not a word. Socrates had his Xenophon and his Plato. Christ also, let me say without irreverence, had his John and his Mark. Therefore, the teachings of Christ are to be gathered up from the records made by the synoptists and by the author of the fourth gospel. Let us not forget how very slight these records are. I hold in my hand a little book called *The Very Words of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* It is, as the title indicates, simply a record of the sayings of Christ as recorded in the four gospels. It is a volume of only a hundred and four pages. Jesus apparently made no attempt to preserve his utterances. This very fact, by the way, forms the material for a very strong argument for the inspiration of the writers of the gospels. But from what is recorded it is not difficult to gather up the main body of his teachings. Although it may be the veriest commonplace to say it, yet let me put down that Jesus was a religious teacher. The truth which he presented was religious truth. It is declared that the word he spake is truth, but that word is a religious word and that truth religious truth. He had no purpose to convey to man historical or scientific, or, as such, metaphysical truth. If one should say that the body of the message that he spoke to humanity was theological, that he wished to present a science of God, each reader of the gospel would at once recognize the fairness and the comprehensiveness of the remark. For he does have much to say of God as his father and of God as the father of humanity, and also respecting the relations of God to humanity and of humanity to God. But he is also an ethical teacher. If one should affirm that the ethical element was quite as conspicuous as the religious, certain theologians would not

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deny the affirmation. For he does have much to say in respect to the relations of men to each other. Are not the social teachings of Jesus made conspicuous these last days? He discourses of the cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, forbearance, and self-control; and the Sermon on the Mount does not neglect those graces which constitute so large a share of the beauty of human character. If, furthermore, one should declare that his teachings have relation to this life conspicuously, the ground of the remark would not be difficult to discover. If, also, one should see fit to assert that his doctrines referred more eminently to the life to come, no one would be so bold as to make denial. The great theme, of human character and its enlargement and enrichment, the doing away with sin, which disintegrates and destroys human character, prayer, the placing of one's self in the most intimate relations with the maker and creator and benefactor of all, confidence in God, obedience to God, and heeding the intimations of God's pleasure, humility—comparing one's self with the infinite standards of being, and judging one's self in respect to these standards—the sense of values, first things to be made first and secondary things second—these are the great, the everlasting themes to which he gives his thought and which he presents to his pupils.

We are not to forget that these are the greatest and the eternal truths. Our systems of science and of philosophy have their day and they cease to be. What man has to say of any one of them is only an adumbration of the light of infinite truth. The Christ took these same themes and shed upon them a radiance of words such as man never spake, and impressed the truths of these themes with a force which no human will ever used.

It is to be remarked that the message which Jesus spake was an integral part of his own personality. It was not the utterance of scholarship; it was the utterance of intuition of life. Such unity of teaching and character has never been witnessed, He spake the truth because he was the truth; and the truth which he spoke got to itself greater power through coming forth from his essential character. His teaching had life because it came

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forth from his own life. It was the life of truth and the truth of life.

Before I write a word in reference to the method of Jesus as a teacher, I wish to consider, and briefly, the circumstances of his teaching. He was not a member of any institution. He had none of those institutional relations and helps which the modern teacher usually associates himself with. He was elected by no school board. He was not the subject of a body of trustees. He had no text-book. If the Hebrew Scriptures were very familiar to him, as they probably were, we have yet only a few records of his drawing from them texts for remark. His texts he found in the incidents of gladness and sadness, in the death and burial of a friend, in the request of a young man, in the suggestiveness of the farmer sowing seed, or of the growth of the crop or of the reaping of the harvest. The flight of a bird, the sight of a lily, the flash of a lamp in the temple, the flowing of a spring, were any one sufficient for him to speak words that will live in men's thoughts and on men's lips so long as the mind thinks, or as the heart feels or the tongue speaks. His lecture room was found in the street corner in Jerusalem, or in the fields of Galilee or on the mountain side in Samaria. He illustrates the truth of the remark that the teacher, *the teacher*, THE TEACHER is more, infinitely more, than either the teaching or the circumstances of the teaching.

The method of Jesus as a teacher, like the content of his teaching, contained nothing recondite. His method is the method of the wisest teachers from the time of Socrates to the time of Agassiz. The teacher, as distinguished from the preacher, explains. His primary appeal is to the reason and to the intellect. But, unlike too many teachers, he does not over-explain. He is free from the common fault of throwing too much light into the eyes of his pupils. It is possible to blind with an excess of light. He excites curiosity; he lays down principles; he permits and urges their application by those for whom they are laid down. To Nicodemus he speaks in a way more dark than the night which surrounds both the teacher and the student. To the woman at the well he speaks in a way to be contrasted with the

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clearness of the water, of which both probably drank. His method is the method of planting seed. He puts truth into the human mind, trusting the human mind and trusting the truth, assured that truth is fitted for the human mind, and the human mind for the truth. He commits each to the other. It is also to be remarked that he respects the individuality of the students. To the rich young man he offers a message quite unlike that which he offers to Nicodemus, as to Nicodemus he offers a message quite different from that which he speaks to Zaccheus. One can well believe that he spoke to John in a way in which he did not speak to Peter and to James, and that he spoke to the three members of his inner cabinet in a way in which he did not speak to the other nine.

Let it also be said as an element of his method that he was interesting. Byron once said that he would not philosophize, he would be read. There is much of philosophy, much of theology in the teachings of Christ, but the philosophy and the theology are not the most apparent things. The human mind is so made that it delights in the story. Christ's parables are stories. Is it not said that without a parable he did not speak unto them? Multitudes flocked about him not only to see the wonderful works which he was doing, but also to hear the none the less wonderful words that he spoke. I am sure that little children were won to him not only by the sweetness of his personality, but also by the graciousness of his speech.

The result of the service of Christ as a teacher was not apparent when he died. Christ had selected as his immediate disciples twelve men with whom he had been in more or less intimate association for about three years. These twelve men were not so ignorant, in my judgment, at the beginning of this association with him as is usually believed. They probably were of the better sort of citizens. The teaching and the association of these three years had not made a very deep impression upon their intellect, or heart, or their will. Certainly one of the twelve proved himself to be thoroughly corrupt. The other eleven evidently believed that the death of their teacher was the death of whatever of hope they held respecting a revolution in the Hebrew race,

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or in human society. If the effect of the teaching of Jesus on the twelve was so slight, the effect of the teaching on the seventy could have been no more impressive. The results, therefore, of his work as a teacher, like the results of the work of many another teacher, were not apparent at the time of his surrendering that work. As Socrates had his Alcibiades, so Jesus had his Judas. As Socrates had his Plato, so Jesus had his John, and as Socrates had by one remove his Aristotle, so also had Jesus his Paul. Plato gave to humanity the sentiments and the mysticism of Socrates, and preserved them for the lasting use of men. John, under the guidance of inspiration, preserved Christ's conversation with Nicodemus, the teachings of Jesus as to the bread and water of life, the account of the resurrection of Lazarus, and the most recondite words that he spoke respecting himself as the good shepherd, the vine, and the son of his Father. Aristotle drew out into logical order and relationships, and applied to the diverse work of men the lasting principles of the human mind which Plato had expressed as sentiments, which Socrates had himself uttered in conversation. So Paul put forth in the form of logic, with acute reasoning, the eternal principles of the love of God to man, and the duties which man owes to God. But for Paul and for John, and for other writers of the New Testament, the source, the origin, the spring of all that they wrote are found in the teachings of Jesus. Today all this is evident. But it was not at all evident when Jesus spoke the last of his seven words on the cross. For him as for other great teachers the passage of time and revolution of conditions were necessary for understanding the significance of his message. And who would venture to say that we have even now come to an adequate appreciation of his teaching?

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FROM JENIN TO NAZARETH.

I. THE PLAIN OF JEZREEL AND BEISAN.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
The University of Chicago.

THE direct and ordinary route from Jenin to Nazareth leads straight across the plain of Esdraelon and requires about seven hours' easy riding. But apart from its historical associations, and the anticipation of the first glimpse of Nazareth among its hills, the road is but faintly interesting. If one takes the less direct route by Zerin he has the added interest of a nearer view of the mountains of Gilboa and a visit to the miserably filthy village that stands on the isolated elevation on which Naboth tilled his vineyard and Ahab built his palace. Yet even then the day's ride is but a necessary evil by which one passes over from the borders of Old Testament history to those of the New—a sort of geographical apocrypha standing between Malachi and Matthew. At Zerin, however, one may turn sharp to the right and go eastward towards the Jordan and over this unusual and altogether circuitous road arrive at Nazareth after a few days' trip in comparatively unvisited regions where the traces of the Græco-Roman civilization so little observed in Judea and Samaria will serve well as an introduction to Galilean life in the time of Christ.

No one can come down from the heights of Jenin into the plain of Esdraelon without thinking of its immense military possibilities. To the west is Carmel thrusting itself out into the Mediterranean as a breakwater for the one natural harbor between Beirût and Egypt; before one are the passes that lead through the hills of Galilee; behind are those that lead to Samaria; while to the east are the fords of the Jordan that bind the Hauran to the plain and sea. To say nothing of the temptations

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of the great rich plain itself, it is Palestine's inevitable battle field for north and south, east and west. And warlike indeed are the memories the plain recalls. On the slopes of Zerin the hosts of Israel camped just before the fatal day on Gilboa;

VIEW FROM JENIN ACROSS ESDRAELON TO THE GALILEAN HILLS

across the plain Joram watched the approach of his assassin Jehu. Over to the north where once stood a crusader's castle Bonaparte with a handful of men put to flight twenty-odd thousand Syrians, Pharaoh Necho defeated the unfortunate Josiah, and the "mother in Israel" with the aid of Barak and the ancient torrent Kishon defeated Sisera. Yet nothing can be more peaceful than the Esdraelon of today. From Zerin (and indeed from a little farther east) to the sea the plain is thoroughly cultivated, the rights of pasturage claimed by the Bedouin having been in some way disposed of. The local trail from Zerin to the main path to Beisan often gets lost among newly ploughed

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fields, and one finds oneself riding across furrows and standing grain.

Not far from Zerin is Ain Jalud or Fountain of Goliath, a noble pool with springs in a great cave at the foot of the hills and every morning filled with the black cattle of the Arabs, If Colonel Conder be correct, Gideon chose his three hundred heroes from those who lapped water like a dog at this spring, and with them pursued the Midianites down the valley toward Beisan. From this point the plain of Jezreel dips gently eastward watered by the brook Jalud which flows from this pool. The path runs parallel with the brook, though distant a few rods on the foot of the mountains of Gilboa. It is much used by native travelers to and from the east of Jordan, and one meets frequent small trains of camels loaded with the highly prized millstones from the Hauran. Singularly enough, a little distance from the pool we met an Arab riding furiously in search of a lost child. But all likeness to the story of Jesus disappeared as we overtook the mother. She rode impassively away on a miserable little donkey, apparently indifferent as to the fate of her child.

AIN JALUD

Perhaps a third of the way from Zerin to Beisan, and not very far from the ruins of an ancient village, there is a second pool at the foot of a small palm Like Ain Jalud this pool was filled with black cattle and we were forced to look for shade a little up on the side of the mountain under a great rock. From the elevation thus gained the view was far more beautiful than the descriptions of too many travelers would lead one to expect. There was nowhere any reminder of the stern hillsides of Judea,

THE PALM ON THE PLAIN OF JEZREEL

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beautiful though they had seemed in their bareness. Between us and the plain there trickled a little brook of deliciously clear water in which numerous small fish were swimming. Below us stretched the plain of Jezreel from Zerin to Beisan, with Esdraelon beyond, dotted with the black tents and flocks and herds of the Bedouin, broken into great patches of green and red, gray and yellow, and rolling up gently on its northern side to the foothills of Galilee. From east to west the horizon was bounded by mountains—those of Moab with their incomparable purple haze, Little Hermon with its white *wely*, and far to the north Hermon itself with its snowy summit, a not impossible rival of the Jungfrau herself.

The path along the foot of the mountains of Gilboa, with all its reminders of the fate of the first king of Israel, is from this point always in clear view of the Tell at Beisan, and it is impossible to escape the quite unjustifiable feeling that one is leaving the lands of the Bible and entering those of classical antiquity. One's attention, at any rate, is rapidly diverted from religion to archæology and agriculture. The large plain, though less cultivated than Esdraelon, and far more at the mercy of the Bedouins, is so well watered that it could be made a veritable garden with small effort. As it is the Arabs attempt a rather unusual amount of irrigation, and we passed several groups of men engaged in repairing the trenches, sometimes with the aid of naked boys working in the water itself, sometimes by the use of a curious spade which one man held and three others on the opposite side of the trench lifted by means of a rope with all the rhythm of dancers. Yet no matter how great the labor bestowed upon them, no provision is

A BEDOUIN ENCAMPMENT

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made for crossing these trenches and one rides through them to the great damage of their mud walls.

The present town of Beisan is a miserable collection of mud huts reinforced with sheets of tin cut from the Russian petroleum cans that have lately begun to play a considerable rôle in Arab life. With the possible exception of Zerin (and several others) it is the filthiest, worst smelling town in Palestine, and any stray camper will do well to pitch his tent as near as possible to the edge of the crater-like valley in which are the best preserved traces of the ancient Scythopolis and from the center of which rises the truncated cone of the Tell. From this point of view, nearly as well as from the top of the Tell, it is easy to see how the city became the head of the Decapolis. At least four brooks flow by the site of the city. The brook Jalud cuts its way to the north of the Tell, and thence flows straight on to enter the Jordan near the ford that led to Pella. Of the three other brooks, one flows into the Jalud and the other two in a southwest direction into the Jordan. Thus the portion of the city near the fortress stood at the end of the valley of Jezreel and at the head of a miniature delta spreading out through various valleys to the Jordan three hundred feet below. So great was its water supply that the surrounding country might be turned into a marsh in time of war. But this was not all. These converging approaches led from numerous fords of the Jordan to the natural highway to the sea—the plains of Jezreel and Esdraelon. Both to the north and the south the land rises in great hills that plunge precipitously into the Jordan valley, and afford but indirect and dangerous routes to the west. From the top of the Tell at Beisan one can look not merely back over the plain as far as Zerin, but up and down the Jordan valley and the opposite hill country of the Decapolis from Gadara to far south of Pella, and all this territory had no westward outlet except the

THE VALLEY AND TELL OF BEISAN

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plain of Jezreel. The city, in a word, commanded the converging points of the roads leading from the Hauran to the Mediterranean.

That the ancient town had an importance equal to its opportunities appears immediately from its ruins. To judge from these, the city stretched quite beyond the limits set by the few traces of walls for at least two miles along the edge of the Jordan valley and must have been at least a mile broad. It is true that anyone fresh from the monumental piles of brick and concrete in Rome will feel at first disappointment in the heaps of basalt and the occasional limestone columns that stand out here from the gardens and fields. But more detailed examination shows not only traces of considerable architectural and artistic taste, but also introduces one far more completely than can even the long line of pillars at Sebustieh to the chief characteristics of Græco-Roman towns—the colonnaded street, the theater and other places of public amusement, the temple, and the fortress.

The first of the ruins which one is likely to visit are those of the theater. These stand just over the edge of the great basin made by the Jalud. It was not a very large building, a little more than a semicircle, perhaps 180 feet across, with twelve tiers of seats. In many particulars it is badly preserved, the seats being quite broken, the stage long since destroyed and turned into a garden, and the *vomitoria* used for stables, while even the ends of the great semicircle are in sad dilapidation. Yet as one stands on one of these ends he can still see the sweep of the walls with the traces of the seats, the openings of the entrances, and the receivers for brass sounding boards. Looked at from the rear the ruins are much more complete. The basalt walls are tolerably well preserved, and the masonry of the inclined arched passageways is as solid as on the day it was made.

RUINS OF THE THEATRE

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It is a most singular feeling that comes over one as, after climbing up over fallen blocks of basalt, he pushes away the tall grass and bushes and looks down into one of these corridors, now used by the Arabs as shelters for goats and cattle. But the sense of the futility of human effort, not unmingled with the chronic indignation at the Turkish misrule that traveling in the altered country always begets, grows deeper as one crosses the brook on pieces of broken columns, makes his way over the hill that projects into the upper part of the basin, sees here and there pieces of carved basalt worked into the walls of hovels, and bits of marble decorating the tombs of village worthies, and after clambering over some acres of basalt stones that mark the sites of the old houses, finally looks down upon the wall, almost covered with vegetation, that is the only reminder of the hippodrome. The marble seats that once lined the great building have almost entirely disappeared, the goal (if indeed it be the goal) is broken to its base, the very ground itself seems sinking into the vaults beneath.

On the hill to the northwest of the theater there are a few columns of marble that were probably a part of a temple, for near by is the marble base and the basalt slab with the carefully cut groove for catching the blood, that formed the top of the altar. It was impossible for two men to turn over the base, but on the three sides exposed to view no inscription was to be seen.

TOP OF ALTAR

In the valley at the foot of the Tell there are a number of stumps of limestone columns, perhaps a yard in diameter, which evidently mark the line of a colonnade that ran easterly from the vicinity of the theater, with a branch running at right angles and bisecting the valley between the Tell and the western edge of the valley. At a point near the junction of these two streets of columns there is standing a pillar with a simply carved bracket on its southern side, as if intended to carry some arch or beam.

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On the Tell itself there are a few reminders of the old fortress that once covered it. On the north side are a piece of the old wall and the ruins of the gate, one side of which shows strikingly in the spring of the ruined arch the difference between the masonry of the Romans, with its large, well-jointed stones, and that of the Arabs, with its ill-matched, rough pieces of rock. Farther up are the remains of vaulted chambers and a few of the tiers of the wall. At places the ground sounds hollow, as if there were other vaulted chambers yet unopened, but the Arabs will doubtless soon ruin all this masonry in their search for treasures and antiquities. From the Tell one gets a charming view of the little valley, with its columns and bridges (one at least being of Roman origin), and also of the surrounding country. But nowhere is the desolation of a natural paradise more evident. The few palms and the little fields tilled by the Arabs make only more evident the waste of possibilities in this naturally luxuriant region. What other city in the world has at its back potential miles of grain and at its feet a well-watered valley, with an almost tropical climate?

THE RUINS OF THE COLONNADE

RUINS OF GATE

And from the Tell one can also see how real are the extraordinary possibilities for excavation pointed out by Professor Smith. It is impossible to doubt that in the little valley about the Tell are the remains of one of the richest of the Græco-Roman cities in Palestine. All that is wanted would be to put the Jalud to some simple hydraulic uses and sweep the débris into the great valley below. If such excavations might possibly fail in furnishing illustrations of biblical history, it would

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certainly furnish much material throwing light upon Græco-Roman life in the immediate vicinity of the region in which the most of Christ's life was passed. But until either agriculture or excavation touches this isolated spot it is likely to remain as it is today, the abode of dirt and jackals and the victim of Turkish administration.

COLUMN WITH BRACKET

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THE OLD TESTAMENT WISDOM (*CHOKMA*).

By PROFESSOR D. M. WELTON, PH.D., D.D.
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THE Hebrew word *chokma*, as used in the Old Testament, stands for wisdom, both divine (Prov. 3 : 19) and human (Dan. 1 : 17). As expressive of the latter it has both a general and a special meaning. Its general meaning is somewhat varied, a knowledge, *e. g.*, of nature (1 Kings 4 : 33), of human affairs (Isa. 19 : 11), the gift of poetic and sententious speech (1 Kings 4 : 32), skill to foretell the future, to interpret dreams, and to conjure (Ex. 7 : 11; Dan. 5 : 11) being all comprehended under the term. Among the Hebrews the wise man (*chakam*) was the learned man in general (Jer. 8 : 9), whether in the character of judge (1 Kings 3 : 28), or ruler (Deut. 34 : 9), or artificer (Ex. 28 : 3; 31 : 6; Jer. 10 : 9), or cunning and subtle man (Job 5 : 13; *cf.* 2 Sam. 13 : 3; 20 : 16).

In the more special signification of the word, it denotes wisdom with a strong ethical quality, as rooting itself in the fear of the Lord, and applying the truths of divine revelation to the various relations and circumstances of life—wisdom, in a word, as inclusive of all virtue. In this sense it is frequently represented by the Hebrew word *tushiya* (Prov. 2 : 7; 3 : 21; 8 : 14; 18 : 1; Job 11 : 6; 12 : 16; 26 : 3), which the Revised Version renders by "sound wisdom," and which means *well being and wisdom* in one. The definition given by James of the wisdom that is from above (3 : 17) not inaptly expresses the higher meaning of the Old Testament *chokma*, and in giving this definition James may have had this word in mind.

The Old Testament wisdom wears a decidedly philosophical aspect; and while it can hardly be affirmed that the Hebrews had a philosophy in the form of a well-defined system, it must yet be admitted that in their striving after objective wisdom

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the essential elements of philosophy were present. Not a few scholars have regarded philosophy as an exercise of the human intellect carried on according to strictly logical and scientific methods; and as thus understood it admittedly had no place among the early Hebrews or indeed among any of the older eastern nations. But philosophy looked at in the light of its etymology, and as the whole method and practice of the oldest Greek philosophers down to the time of Aristotle demonstrates, is simply a love of wisdom; an earnest endeavor to find a theo retical and practical solution of the contradictions and enigmas which have ever obtruded themselves upon the attention of thoughtful men. Even within the domain of heathendom may be discovered that tendency of mind which is the essence of philosophy. Whenever men have tried to solve the mysteries which they have discovered in the world within them and in the world without them, they have philosophized.

In Solomon's time Jewish thought had begun to concern itself with the great moral problems of the world. Reflecting upon the world presented by revelation, it sought to acquaint itself with those subjects which are not directly determined in revelation, and hence arose the Old Testament *chokma*, or what may be designated the *philosophy of the Hebrews*.

This philosophy bears some resemblance, indeed, to that of other nations in that it concerns itself, not with the ordinances and history of the theocracy, but with cosmical arrangements and the moral relations of men. On this account it has been likened to the physics and ethics of the Greeks. Still, the Old Testament wisdom (*chokma*) is essentially different from the latter. It is based, indeed, like the Greek philosophy, upon observations of nature and human affairs, and especially upon the hoarded experiences of past generations (Job 5:27; 8:8; 12:7–12; Isa. 40:21, 28); but in these investigations it has the advantage of planting its feet on the solid ground of God's revelation and starting with a supernaturalistic assumption to which the Greek wisdom can make no claim.

It never entered into the thought of the Old Testament sage to prove the existence of God, or the creation of the world by

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him; for the first of these truths is assumed, and the second expressly declared in Gen. 1:1, and the denier of these truths is deemed a fool (Ps. 14:1). In the Hebrew literature of wisdom the questions concerning the origin of the world and evil, which play a conspicuous part in the philosophy of ancient and modern times, are only incidentally discussed, and then only in their bearing upon practical morality.

While the Old Testament wisdom forms with the law and prophecy a special province of knowledge, it is yet in an important sense independent of them. The facts of divine revelation and the theocratic ordinances constitute simply the soil in which wisdom roots itself—the soil upon which spring up not merely a practical piety, but an impulse to knowledge. It was while the Levitical institutions were regularly performing their functions and the Mosaic ordinances were impressing their stamp more and more indelibly upon the life of the nation that the leading minds, with the king at their head, gave themselves up to a deeper search into things human and divine, and so reached the idea of the Old Testament wisdom (*chokma*).

The *chokma* did not certainly approve of heathenism, but it took no part with the prophecy in the struggle of the latter against it; it confined itself rather to the task of discovering and emphasizing general religious-moral truth and using it for the ennobling of the Israelites as men.

Taken in its widest extent, the circle of the *chokma* literature embraces the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. These books constitute its code. And remembering the practical character of the *chokma* instruction—its adaptability to promote practical piety—it might be said that Job teaches men how to suffer well, the Psalms how to pray well, Proverbs how to act well, Ecclesiastes how to enjoy well, and the Song of Songs how to love well.

The books more specially marked by this literature are Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. The description of wisdom in Job 28:12 ff. is sufficiently like that in Prov. 8:25 ff. to suggest the same source—the same school of thought. Job is represented as "the greatest of all the men of the East" (1:3), with whose

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wisdom that of Solomon is expressly compared (1 Kings 4:30). The Book of Job abounds with apothegms of the proverb type, one of which became the motto and theme of the Book of Proverbs: "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding" (Job 28:28; Prov. 9:10). The problem with which the Book of Job deals is: Why do the righteous suffer? And its aim is to controvert the theory dominant at the time when it was written, that suffering is a sign of the divine displeasure and presupposes sin on the part of the sufferer. The scenes amid which the poem of Job is placed could hardly have occurred to a Hebrew mind before the wide contact with the Gentile world which Solomon's reign opened up.

While in Prov. 1:20 wisdom is introduced as a person, speaking as a woman, uttering her voice in the streets, in Ecclesiastes the writer seems to identify himself with the wisdom with which he was so highly gifted in such way that wisdom appears to speak through him. His twofold object appears to have been: first, to show where happiness could not be found, and, second, where it might. The first lesson of the book is, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," and the second, "Fear God and keep his commandments." The Book of Proverbs, however, stands at the head of what have been called the sapiential books of the Old Testament. It is preëminently rich in its lessons of practical wisdom. Its central principle is that goodness is wisdom and vice and wickedness folly. It contains the aphorisms of particular sages and sets forth the fundamental principles in which the true wisdom of life is established.

The golden age of the *chokma* literature of the Hebrews began with the reign of Solomon. In response to his request of the Lord to be enriched with wisdom and knowledge (2 Chron. 1:7–12) the Lord endowed and honored him with a larger measure of these than was enjoyed by any of his contemporaries (2 Chron. 9:23). When the queen of Sheba heard his answers to her questions—her riddles, that is, or other ingenious puzzles (*chidhoth*) designed to test his sagacity, she exclaimed: "Happy are thy men, happy are these, thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom" (1

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Kings 10: 3–8). His "wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman [to whom the eighty-ninth and eighty-eighth Psalms are respectively ascribed], and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his fame was in all the nations round about" (1 Kings 4: 29–31).

Solomon's manifold intercourse with foreign nations, which extended to Tarshish and Ophir, and the prosperity and peace which marked his reign would be favorable to philosophical inquiries, and tend to the enlargement and perfection of his human and secular knowledge. Before his time the conditions of such inquiry and of the literature which grew out of it did not exist. The proper foundations of a national culture had not yet been laid. Before the Israelitish mind could be in a position to give itself to research and instruction of this kind, the stormy and troublous times of the judges should end, the power of external enemies be broken and overthrown, the political and social rights of the citizen firmly secured, and the theocratical national life permanently established. But all this could only be effected through the brilliant though warlike reign of David. Furthermore, the schools of the prophets which sprang up in the time of Samuel, by giving a new invigoration to the spirit of the law, would contribute to the internal culture of the nation. Then, too, a proper literary and æsthetic form would be created for this philosophy by the national poetry which David was so largely instrumental in creating, and which was a fitting precursor to the proverbial poetry of Solomon.

Associated with Solomon were the *chakamim* ("the wise") or teachers of wisdom (Prov. 1:6; 10:8; 13:20), who began to perform an important part in the training of the nation. The names of some of them are given in 1 Kings 4:31—already quoted. The allusions made to these wise men show that they must have formed, if not a distinct school, yet a prominent class in ancient Israel (*cf.* Jer. 18:18; Prov. 22:17; Job 15:18).

The *mashal* ("proverb") became through Solomon's influence a special branch of Jewish literature, and the peculiar

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poetic form of the *chokma*. In the Book of Proverbs the name *divere chakamim* ("words of the wise") is used for and synonymous with *meshalim* ("proverbs"). A careful examination of the proverbs in which *chakamim* occurs shows that this term has not merely a common ethical sense, but begins to be the designation of those who made wisdom, that is, the knowledge of things in their essence, their life study, and who formed in oneness of sentiment and pursuit a particular circle in the community.

Proverbial instruction is common in the early history of most nations, especially in the East. It is happily suited to excite attention, to favor habits of reflection, and to fasten truth upon the memory in an agreeable and impressive form. And in proportion as peoples have been able to make moral distinctions their proverbs have approached a higher character and standard. They have seized upon the proverb, which was primarily and essentially a *similitude*, as a fitting vehicle for the transference of the lessons suggested by the facts of man's common life, or even those of brute nature, to the region of man's moral and spiritual being.

With the name of Solomon, however, who exceeded all his contemporaries in the fertility and many-sidedness of his genius, the use of proverbs is especially associated. He wrote, we are told, no fewer than 3000; but many of these are lost, for the Book of Proverbs contains only 915 verses, and the last two chapters are assigned to other authors. Solomon set the example of the study of nature, though hardly in a strictly scientific way, and many of the lessons which he inculcates are drawn from the habits and instincts of the lower creation (1 Kings 4:33; Prov. 6:6–8).

From the consideration of wisdom as a principle controlling the arrangements of nature and regulating human society the step was not a far one to its *personification*. Accordingly it is represented in Proverbs as preaching to men, setting before them the issues of life and death, giving the spirit to those who do not resist (1:23), refusing to answer the prayer of those who do (1:28), having a premundane existence (8:22–31), survey-

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ing and superintending the work of creation, "sporting always before him, sporting upon his earth, and my delights were with the sons of men." Dorner says: "This description of wisdom cannot but remind us of the sympathetic, divine-human Teacher who took the form of a servant." Oehler, commenting on the ironical question of Job 15:7 ff., remarks: "How are we here reminded of the ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός ("who was in the bosom of the Father"), and how justly has Ewald found in this passage an echo of the subsequent idea of the Logos!" Perhaps, too, the "son" of God in Prov. 3:4 may be thus explained.

Too strong words cannot be used in commendation of the study of the Book of Proverbs, especially by the young. Says Professor M. Stuart: "All the heathen moralists and proverbialists joined together cannot furnish us with one such book as that of the Proverbs." Says Coleridge: "The Book of Proverbs is the best statesman's manual which was ever written." What a blessing to the nation if politicians and public men generally would follow its teachings!

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THE MISSIONARY FUTURE IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

By T. J. RAMSDELL,
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IT is well known to Bible readers that the prophetic books of the Old Testament abound in denunciations of judgment against the various heathen nations. Not every one, however, realizes how prominent a place is given in these same books to the salvation of the heathen. There is no part of the Old Testament that will more richly repay study, with this thought in mind, than the Book of Isaiah. An attempt will be made in this paper to set forth some of the more prominent teachings there contained concerning the spiritual condition of the Gentiles and their salvation. As to their moral state, the Book of Isaiah everywhere takes it for granted that the heathen are guilty in God's sight. The sin of idolatry is denounced in the strongest terms. One of the most striking passages pertaining to idolatry to be found in the whole book is that contained in chap. 44 : 8–20: "Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no Rock; I know not any. They that fashion a graven image are all of them vanity, and their delectable things shall not profit . . . . He planteth a fir tree and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be for a man to burn; and he taketh thereof and warmeth himself; yea, he kindleth it and baketh bread; yea, he maketh a god and worshipeth it; he maketh it a graven image and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast and is satisfied; yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image; he falleth down unto it and worshipeth, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god. They know not, neither do they consider; for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts that they cannot understand. And none

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calleth to mind, neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part of it in the fire; yea, also, I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it; and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? Shall I fall down to the stock of a tree? He feedeth on ashes; a deceived heart hath turned him aside that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" Here it is the supreme folly of idolatry that is held up to contempt. The bare thought that a man is to bow down in reverence before a part of the same piece of wood that serves as fuel to cook his food needs only to be mentioned to show its absurdity. In all Scripture there is no more forcible and telling delineation of the supreme folly of idolatry than here. So far is idol worship from satisfying the needs of the soul that it is termed a feeding upon ashes. The Gentiles are also spoken of as blind and in prison (42 : 7). The fruitlessness of heathen prayer is emphasized. The prophet sees in vision Moab going to his sanctuary to pray, but being ignorant of the living God it avails him nothing (16 : 12). Egypt has a similar experience: "And the spirit of Egypt shall be made void in the midst of it, and I will destroy the counsel thereof; and they shall seek unto the idols and to the charmers and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards" (19 : 3). But there is guilt as well as folly and emptiness in the worship of idols. The day of the Lord, a day of universal judgment, is coming in which the earth will be shaken and its inhabitants in terror will throw their idols to the moles and the bats (2 : 20, 21). In the passage declaring the judgment on Babylon special mention is made of the fate of the idols. The thirty-fourth chapter opens with a striking prophecy of judgment upon all nations, though Edom is speedily singled out from the rest as being the nation in whose doom the Jews would have the liveliest interest on account of the bitter hostility existing between the two peoples. Thus far we have seen idolatry stigmatized as folly, nothingness, guilt, and that the dark cloud of God's displeasure hangs over the whole heathen world. But the darkness is relieved by gleams of light. The impending judgments are to have a disciplinary effect. The prophetic announcement that

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salvation is in store for the nations outside of Israel is reiterated The Gentiles, called to the same salvation as Israel, will turn their eyes to the light and go out from their prison house of spiritual darkness and death. There is a spiritual preparation for the divine light even in the darkest regions. A day is coming in which all nations, forsaking their idols, will make their way to the temple on Zion there to worship the living God (2 : 2, 3). The people of Ethiopia are to bring as an offering to the Lord not only the products of their fertile fields but themselves as well (18 : 7). A very important passage in this connection is found near the close of the nineteenth chapter: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance."

Egypt and Assyria, the two powers most distrusted by the prophet, and against which some of his sternest denunciations are directed, are to be chosen and blessed of God. The Most High, at the same time that he speaks of Israel as his inheritance applies to Egypt the endearing term, "my people," and addresses Assyria as, "the work of my hands." Robertson Smith has well said of this passage: "Never had the faith of prophet soared so high or approached so near the conception of a universal religion set free from every trammel of national individuality." If it be objected that this prophecy has not been literally fulfilled, and that it cannot be, because Egypt and Assyria as nations have long ago perished from the earth, it may be replied that this is no impeachment of the truthfulness of the prophecy. Egypt and Assyria stood in the prophet's mind simply as representative of the Gentile world. The truth which he clothes in language peculiar to his day is that the heathen shall eventually share the same salvation as Israel, and shall be equally dear to the heart of God. It is time now to inquire through what agency or agencies this salvation comes from Jehovah to the heathen world. If at first there seems to be a diversity of answers, a closer examination will show that there is a unity even in the diversity, and that there is no con-

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tradiction between passages that seem to give different answers to this question. Let us look first at a class of passages that represents this salvation as mediated through Israel.

One passage already quoted (2:2, 3), and which appears in Micah as well as in Isaiah, makes prominent the fact that salvation is of the Jews. It is from Zion that the law shall issue, and it is from Jerusalem that the Word of the Lord shall go forth for its triumphal march among the nations. Furthermore, it is to Israel's holy city of Jerusalem that the nations of the world are to turn their steps in pious pilgrimage, that they may all be taught of God. Passing over other passages which teach with greater or less distinctness that it is through Israel that salvation is to come to the Gentiles, it is worth while to notice the strong emphasis laid upon this thought in the closing chapters of the book. In chap. 56:6–8 we find this strong statement: "Also the strangers that join themselves to the Lord to minister unto him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from profaning it, and holdeth fast by my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar: for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all peoples. The Lord God which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith: Yet will I gather others to him, beside his own that are gathered." Israel's house of prayer is to open its doors to all nations. Solomon, it is true, hinted as much in his dedicatory prayer, but here we have the fact set forth in plain and unmistakable language. Proselytes from the heathen world are to come to Israel, and they are to stand on an equal footing with Israelites by birth. Their sacrifices are to be received (for the prophet seems to be unable to conceive of the worship of the future apart from sacrifice), and they are to find the blessings of salvation by mingling with Israel. But it is in the sublime masterpiece of prophetic inspiration contained in the sixtieth chapter that we find the greatest stress laid upon the ingathering of the Gentiles through Israel. The nations are wrapped in the gloom of night, but the glory of God shines forth from Zion, and to this light the Gentiles make their way. Those once reck-

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oned among the enemies of Israel come in penitence, bearing the choicest gifts and seeking a blessing from Israel's God. Zion's captives dispersed to the farthest lands return, bringing their former conquerors to worship with them in Jerusalem. Thus the dispersion of Israel, cruel as it seemed, is overruled for good, and is a means of bringing the Gentile world to the knowledge of the living God.

Again, in chap. 66 : 20, the Gentiles are represented as coming from far and near, bringing the scattered Israelites to Jerusalem, and reminding the prophet of the children of Israel bringing their Levitical offerings to the temple. So completely are these Gentiles incorporated among the Lord's people that he makes those who had formerly been wrapped in the night of heathen darkness members of his priesthood. To be sure, the prophet conceives of the future of God's kingdom on earth under the forms to which he had been accustomed, but the prophecy is none the less one of vast spiritual import, implying the complete breaking down of the barriers of distinction between Jew and Gentile.

Before passing to another class of passages bearing upon the conversion of the heathen world, it is worth while to notice briefly a prophecy contained in chap. 11 : 10: "And it shall come to pass in that day that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek; and his resting place shall be glorious." The prophet has been describing the blessedness that shall be ushered in under the reign of the Branch that shall grow from the roots of Jesse. But it is a blessedness that has thus far been limited to Israel. This is the case even in the familiar passage preceding the verse just quoted: "For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." Says Delitzsch, in his comment on the passage: "It is the land of Israel that is meant; this is henceforth as it were a paradisaical center of the whole earth, a forecast of its entire and perfect transfiguration in the future." But in the next verse we learn that this sprout from the roots of Jesse attracts the nations of the earth like an ensign planted upon some lofty hill. Known in all the earth, the Mes-

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sianic King draws to himself the multitudes of the Gentiles. His glory shines forth, not upon Israel alone, but upon all peoples who, drawn by some mighty, attractive power, gather themselves about his throne.

Another class of passages represents salvation as brought to the Gentiles by the Servant of Jehovah, who is brought into such unique prominence in the latter half of the Book of Isaiah. In the forty-second chapter we have the Servant set forth, not only as the Mediator of Israel, but also as the Saviour of the Gentiles. "He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles" is the assertion made in the opening verse of the chapter. That perfect divine justice which is a part of the Servant's mission to establish in the earth is to include within its scope the Gentile world. The familiar passage which follows contains a description of the manner in which the Servant extends his authority in the world outside of Israel. In the fourth verse we have a hint that this conquest of the world-kingdoms will not be hastily accomplished. "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law."

Opposition may be great; hard hearts may be slow to yield, but the Servant shall know neither weariness nor discouragement till his task shall be accomplished. Another fact that strengthens the assurance that his work shall succeed is that "the isles are waiting for his law." The prophet recognizes that there is in the heathen world a longing, unconscious it may be, but none the less real, for the establishment of the reign of righteousness. It is to meet this longing that the Servant of Jehovah comes "for a light to the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house." Another passage of much significance in this connection reads as follows: "It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my Servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth" (49:6). Thus we see that to restore Israel is only a part of the Servant's task; a work of vastly greater scope has been appointed to him in enlightening the Gentiles

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and in bringing salvation to the ends of the earth. But we must pass over other passages of the same tenor to glance briefly at one or two prophecies concerning the final goal of redemption for both Jew and Gentile. Reference has been made already to the striking prophecy at the beginning of the second chapter concerning the pilgrimage of all nations to Jerusalem and the reign of universal peace. Micah has the same prophecy expressed in the same words. It is not at all improbable that both Isaiah and Micah may have quoted the words from some older prophet. Granting that poetic imagery figures to a considerable extent in this passage, its spiritual import is plain. Before human history shall have run its course all peoples will worship the God who has his seat on Zion; all disputes between the nations shall be submitted to the arbitrament of his Word, and wars shall forever cease. Says Orelli on this passage: "The glorious final state that will see God's plan realized is described as a theocracy having Jerusalem (or the temple of Jehovah) for its center, from that point drawing all nations into its sphere, and thus bringing in universal peace." But perhaps the most significant prophecy in the book bearing on the ultimate issue of God's purpose of salvation is contained in chap. 25:6–8. "And in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering that is cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. He hath swallowed up death forever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the reproach of his people shall he take away from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it." "This mountain" is Zion, the peculiar dwelling place of Jehovah. This "feast of fat things" is prepared for all nations. There is no discrimination in favor of the Jew. Jew and Gentile alike are embraced in God's purpose as he prepares the feast. The veil of spiritual blindness that has so long covered the nations is swept away that all may know the Lord, and death itself is annihilated. The prophet fixes his eye on the final goal of the divine purposes of grace, and sees all nations

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gathered into one in the perfected kingdom of God. Well may the prophet in this lofty flight of inspiration lose sight of the distinction between Jew and Gentile, for his spiritual horizon is that of John on the closing pages of the Apocalypse.

We have then in one of the chief of Israel's prophetic books a plain and emphatic setting forth of the truth that the Gentiles are called to the same salvation as Israel. It is to be a salvation mediated through Israel. The Branch from the roots of Jesse will draw to his glorious reign the Gentile nations. The Servant of Jehovah will have for the crowning glory of his mission the enlightening of the heathen world. Interpreted in the light of the New Testament, there is no conflict in these views. "Salvation is of the Jews" was the declaration of our Lord himself. The prophecies concerning the work of the Messiah of kingly glory and the suffering Servant of Jehovah alike find their realization in him whose last command was that the gospel should be preached to every creature.

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Aids to Bible Readers.

THE ETHICAL TEACHINGS OF JESUS IN RELATION TO THE ETHICS OF THE PHARISEES AND OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

OUTLINE OF NINE STUDIES.

Prepared by ERNEST D. BURTON,
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THE teachings of Jesus as presented in the gospels are marked by two characteristics which are superficially opposite. Preëminently fundamental and permanent in their essence, dealing not with the external accidents of moral questions, but with the central ethical and religious principle involved, they yet took their form from the situation and circumstances that gave occasion to their utterance. The method of the modern lecturer on ethics, who expounds his system in logical order from fundamental principle, abstractly stated, to detailed application, was emphatically not the method of Jesus. He dealt with the practical questions which the conduct or the belief of his contemporaries raised, never superficially, never on grounds of passing expediency, always fundamentally, yet always practically and objectively, in relation to existing custom and current teaching. Because of this fact it is necessary in studying the teaching of Jesus to have before us as clear a conception as possible of the teachings that were current in his day. Now it was the Pharisees who set the pattern of conduct in Jesus' day, and it was their scribes who were looked upon as the moral and religious teachers of the nation. As Jesus himself said, "The scribes and the Pharisees sat in Moses' seat." But the teachings of the scribes were, in part actually, in part professedly, based on the teaching of the Old Testament. The student who would gain the right point of view for the most intelligent interpretation of the ethical teachings of Jesus must therefore approach them from the study of the Old Testament and of the teachings of the Pharisees.

The following outlines are offered as a guide and help in such

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study, in the hope that they may be found useful both in private study, and in Bible clubs or classes.

In the citation of references to literature outside of the Bible, especially in the first study, a multiplicity of references is given, not with the thought that all of them will be used by every student, but that each will make use of those which are accessible to him. In the study of the general situation (Study 1), Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* will be found more useful than any other single work. In reference to the passages cited for the Pharisaic teaching it must be borne in mind that while the teachings of the Talmud go back in part to the time of Jesus, yet the work itself was put into written form several centuries later, and hence gives only indirect evidence concerning the doctrine of the Pharisees of Jesus' day. The testimony of the New Testament, though meager in amount, probably furnishes the most trustworthy evidence we have respecting the views current in the first century. In the citation of Old Testament passages the aim has been, not to cite all that bear upon the topic, but only to give a fair representation of the teaching and spirit of the different parts of the Old Testament. Under the Teaching of Jesus the lists are intended to be approximately complete. *All* the passages cited should be studied.[1]

FIRST STUDY.—INTRODUCTORY TOPICS.

I. PARTIES AND SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT AMONG THE JEWS IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

1. The Pharisees.

Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ; Div. II, Vol. II, 19–28. *Seidel*, In the Time of Jesus; 130–2; The Life and Times of Jesus

[1] For classes the following method is suggested:

1. Have a separate notebook (of about 20 pages) for each lesson.

BEFORE THE RECITATION.

2. Study each passage or section of literature cited and state briefly the teaching or information.
3. Sum up in writing the results under each division and subdivision of the subject Use only the left-hand page for the above.

IN THE CLASS.

4. Make notes on loose sheets of paper of matters in which your previous work requires modification or extension.

AFTER THE RECITATION.

5. Insert on the right-hand page such additions and revisions as your class-room notes suggest, and send the work to the instructor for criticism.

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the Messiah; I, 310–24. *Edersheim*, Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ; 213–38. *Stapfer*, Palestine in the Time of Christ; 265–84. *Holtzmann*, Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, 158–64. *Thompson*, Books which influenced our Lord and his Apostles; 58–74. *Keim*, Jesus of Nazara; I, 329–53. *Wellhausen*, Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. *Hausrath*, New Testament Times; I. 135–53. *Ewald*, History of Israel; V, 365–9; 380–4; 392–4. *Kitto*, Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature; art. "Pharisees." *Smith*, Dictionary of the Bible; art. "Pharisees." *Hershon*, A Talmudic Miscellany; 122. *Josephus*, Antiq.; xiii, 10:5, 6; xvii, 2:4; xviii, 1:2, 3; B. J. II, 8:14.

2. The Sadducees.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 29–43. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 136–9. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 310–24; Social Life; 242–45. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 265–84. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 164–6. *Thompson*, Books etc.; 50–57. *Keim*, Jesus of Nazara; I, 353–65. *Wellhausen*, Phar. u. Sad. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 135–53. *Ewald*, History of Israel; V, 274–82. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 17–34. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Sadducees." *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Sadducees." *Josephus*, B. J.; ii, 8:14; Antiq.; xiii, 5:9; xiii, 10:6; xviii, 1:4.

3. The Essenes.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 188–218. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 324–33; Social Life; 245–48. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 454–71. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus: 140–6. *Lightfoot*, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon; 80–98; 347–417. *Friedländer*, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums (Wien. 1894); 98–142. *Thompson*, Books etc.; 75–122. *Keim*, Jesus of Nazara; I, 365–93. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 166–71. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 153–69. *Ewald*, History of Israel; V, 370–7. *Grätz*, History of the Jews, II, 17–34. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Essenes." *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Essenes." *Josephus*, B. J. ii, 8, 2–13; Antiq.; xviii, 1:5.

II. EDUCATIONAL METHODS AND AGENCIES.

1. The Scribes.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. I, 306–79. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 285–309. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 98–111. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 151–7. *Ewald*, History of Israel; V, 144–7; VI, 9–36; VIII, 27–45. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 130–4. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 93–6; 108–24. *Weber*, Die Lehren des Talmud; 121–43. *Redford*, Four Centuries of Silence; 102–24. *W. Robertson Smith*, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church; 41–5. *Bissell*, Commentary on the Apocrypha; Introd. 31–2. *Farrar*, History of Interpretation; 60–83. *Gfrörer*, Das Jahrhundert des Heils; I, 109–214. *Wellhausen*, Phar. u. Sad.; 8–17. *Renan*, History of the People of Israel; V, 269–78. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Scribes." *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Scribes."

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2. The Schools.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. I, 323-8; Div. II, Vol. II, 44-52. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 227-32. *Edersheim*, Social Life; 122-38. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 302-9. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 125. *Gfrörer*, Das Jahrhundert des Heils; I, 186 ff. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Education.' *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Education."

3. The Synagogue.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 52-89. *Edersheim*, Life and Times I, 430-50. *Edersheim*, Social Life; 249-80. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 333-46. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 120-4. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 147-51. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 84-93. *Ewald*, History of Israel; V, 243; VII, 307-13. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Synagogue." *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Synagogue."

III. THE PHARISEES IN PARTICULAR.

1. Their Attitude toward the Old Testament.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. I, 306-312; Vol. II, 10-12. *Edersheim*, Life and Times, II, 682 f. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 358-61. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 130-1. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 17-19. *Weber*, Die Lehren des Talmud; 78-86. *Wendt*, The Teaching of Jesus; I, 33-45; II, 30-3. *Mackintosh*, Christ and the Jewish Law; 39-41.

2. Their Traditions.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 10-12. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 97-107. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 96-108; 139-40. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 19-20. *Weber*, Die Lehren des Talmud; 88-105. *Farrar*, History of Interpretation; 58-65. *W. Robertson Smith*, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church; 45-52. *Mackintosh*, Christ and the Jewish Law; 41-50. *Wellhausen*, Phar. u. Sad. *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Pharisees" § I. *Josephus*, Antiq.; xiii, 10:6.

3. The Characteristics of their Religious and Ethical Thinking.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 12-26; 36-8. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 313-22; Appendix XIII, 748 ff. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 310-32. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 130-132. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 186-245. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 140-9. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 17-20. *Keim*, Jesus of Nazara; I, 334-53. *Weber*, Die Lehren des Talmud; 144-382. *Farrar*, St. Paul; 35-40. *Mackintosh*, Christ and the Jewish Law; 50-6. *Ryle & James*, Psalms of Solomon; Introd. 50-2. *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Pharisees" §§ II and III. *Josephus*, B. J.; ii, 8:14; Antiq.; xiii, 5:9; Vita; 2 (fin.).

4. Their Influence with the People.

Schürer, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 12, 19, 28, 42. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 322. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 132, 3. *Holtzmann*, Zeitgeschichte; 162. *Hausrath*, N. T. Times; I, 150-3. *Grätz*, History of the Jews; II, 20.

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Keim, Jesus of Nazara; I, 343-5. *Thompson*, Books etc.; 63-6. *Friedländer*, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums; 37-58. *Josephus*, Antiq.; xiii, 10:5; xvii, 2:4; xviii, 1:3.

SECOND STUDY.—ANGER, RETALIATION, AND RESISTANCE.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Ex. 20:13; 21:23-25; 23:4. Lev. 19:17, 18, 33, 34; 24:19, 20. Deut. 19:18-21; 23:3-6; 25:17-19; 32:35-43. *Cf.* 2 Kgs. 6:21-23.

2. Prophecy.

Is. 50:6; chap. 53. Lam. 3:30.

3. Wisdom Literature.

Job 31:29; Ps. 5:9, 10; 7:4; 9:1-6; 35:4-9; 41:10; 69:22-28; 109:6-15, cf. Perowne on Ps. 35:22. Prov. 3:3, 4; 15:1; 20:22; 24:17, 18, 29; 25:21, 22.

4. Apocryphal Literature.

Tob. 4:15. Ecclus. 19:13-17; 28:2-5.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 5:21, 38, 43. Ps. Sol. 4:7-21.
Wünsche, Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch; 44-50; 65-67. *Tholuck*, Sermon on the Mount; 266-88. *Meyer-Weiss*, on Matt. 5:43.

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 5:21-24; 5:38-48; 7:12. Luke 6:27-31, 35; 10:25-37.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament. (Distinguish the different types of Old Testament teaching, and note both resemblances and differences.)

V. SUMMARY STATEMENT OF JESUS' TEACHING.

THIRD STUDY.—CHASTITY AND MARRIAGE.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Gen. 2:18-25. Ex. 20:14; 21:8-10. Lev. 19:20-22, 29; 20:10. Num. 5:11-31. Deut. 17:17; 21:15-17; 23:17, 18; 24:1-4; 25:5-10.

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2. Prophecy.

Jer. 3 : 1, 8; 7 : 9. Ezek. 16 : 38; 23 : 45–48. Hos. 3 : 1, 2. Mal. 2 : 14–16.

3. Wisdom Literature.

Prov. 2 : 17; 5 : 15–20; 7 : 5–27; 12 : 4; 31 : 10–31.

4. Apocryphal Literature.

Tob. 4 : 12. Ecclus. 19 : 2; 23 : 16–26; 26 : 7–18.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 5 : 27, 31; 19 : 3–12. Mark 10 : 2–12. John 8 : 3–11.
Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany; 69 (5), 88, 91 (note *b*), 135–7, 173; Treasures of the Talmud; 194. *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien; 52–7. *Schürer*, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 6, 123. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 352–4; II, 332–4; Social Life; 139–60 (*passim*). *Stapfer*, Palestine; 151–5. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Marriage" (III).

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 5 : 28–32; 19 : 3–12. Mark 10 : 2–12. Luke 16 : 18. John 8 : 3–11.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

FOURTH STUDY.—OATHS, VOWS, AND TRUTHFULNESS.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Ex. 20 : 7. Lev. 5 : 4; 19 : 12. Num. 30 : 2–14. Deut. 23 : 21–23; 29 : 12.

2. Prophecy.

Jer. 7 : 9; 12 : 16. Ezek. 17 : 18. Zech. 5 : 3, 4; 8 : 17. Mal. 3 : 5.

3. Wisdom Literature.

Eccl. 9 : 2.

4. Apocryphal Literature.

Wisd. 14 : 30, 31; Ecclus. 23 : 10, 11.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 5 : 33; 15 : 5, 6; 23 : 16, 18. Mark 7 : 9–12.

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Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany, 5; Treasures of the Talmud; 56, 82 (*a*). 90, 150, 164 (*b*), 170, 254, 307 (*i*). *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien 57–60, 288–92. *Schürer*, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 122 (note). *Edersheim*, Life and Times; II, 17–21, 412. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Oaths."

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 5:34–37; 15:3–6; 23:16–22. Mark 7:9–13. *Cf.* Matt. 26:63.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseism.
2. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

FIFTH STUDY.—ACQUISITION AND USE OF PROPERTY.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Ex. 20:15; 22:25–27. Lev. 19:10, 13; 23:22; 25:5. Deut. 14:28, 29; 15:7–11; 23:19, 20; 24:10–22; 28:1–8.

2. Prophecy.

Is. 3:14, 15; 11:4; 58:7. Jer. 22:13–19. Ezek. 18:16–18. Dan 4:27. Amos 2:6, 7. Zech. 5:3, 4; 7:10. Mal. 3:5.

3. Wisdom Literature.

Job 29:12–16; 31:17. Ps. 41:1, 2; 112:9. Prov. 10:2; 11:24, 25; 13:8; 14:31; 15:6; 18:11; 21:6, 13; 22:9; 28:27.

4. Apocryphal Literature.

Tob. 4:7–11; 12:8, 9; 14:9–12. Ecclus. 4:1–6; 7:10; 11:17–19; 14:3; 29:7–20.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 6:2 (*cf.* Broadus *ad. loc.*); 23:14; 26:9. Mark 12:40, 41. Luke 14:12. Clem. II, Cor. 16.
Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany; 38 (*h*), 50, 69, 71; Treasures of the Talmud; 9–30, 103 (*f*), 104 (*n*), 124, 155. *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien, 75–80, 91, 2. *Tholuck*, Sermon on the Mount; 294–301, *Stapfer*, Palestine; 382–5. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art, "Alms" (end). *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Alms."

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 5:42; 6:1–4, 19–34; 10:42; 15:3–6; 18:24 ff.; 19:21; 25:35 ff. Mark 8:36; 10, 17–27; 12:41–44. Luke 6:20, 24; 8:3; 9:57;

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10:5-7; 11:41; 12:13-21, 29-34; 14:12-14; 16:1-15, 19-31; 18:22, 24. John 13:29.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

SIXTH STUDY.—FASTING.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

   Lev. 16:29-34; 23:27, 32. Num. 30:13. *Cf.* Ex. 34:28. 1 Sam. 7:6; 2 Sam. 12:16.

2. Prophecy.

   Is. 58:3 ff. Jer. 14:12; 36:9. Dan. 10:3. Joel 1:14; 2:12, 15. Zech. 7:5; 8:19.

3. Wisdom Literature.

   Ps. 35:13

4. Apocryphal Literature.

   Jud. 6:8. Tob. 12:8. Ecclus. 34:26.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 9:14. Luke 5:33; 18:12.

Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany; 162, 178; Treasures of the Talmud; 123-33. *Barclay*, The Talmud; 158-68. *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien; 90-1, 123. *Schürer*, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 118-9. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 662-3. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 379-82. *Kitto*, Bib. Cyc.; art. "Fasts" (3).

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 6:16-18; 9:14-17. Mark 2:18-22.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

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SEVENTH STUDY.—UNCLEAN MEATS, CEREMONIAL PURITY.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Ex. 30 : 17–22. Lev. 11 *passim;* 22 : 4–8. Num. 5 : 2; 19 : 11–22.

2. Prophecy.

Ezek. 4 : 14; 22 : 26; 36 : 25; 44 : 23. Dan. 1 : 8 Hos. 9 : 3 ff. Hag. 2 : 11–14.

3. Wisdom Literature.

Job 9 : 30. Ps. 26 : 6; 51 : 2, 7.

4. Apocryphal Literature.

Tob. 1 : 11; 2 : 4, 5, 9. Jud. 12 : 2.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 15 : 2; 23 : 25, 26. Mark 7 : 2–5. Luke 11 : 38. John 3 : 25.

Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany; 43, 191, 252. *Barclay*, The Talmud; 307–33. *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien; 180–1, 293, 294, 391, 442. *Schürer*, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 5, 6, 20–5, 106–11. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; I, 319 f.; II, 9 ff.; The Temple; 300–22.

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 15 : 10–20; 23 : 25, 26. Mark 1 : 44; 7 : 6–8, 14–23. 11 : 38–41.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. The Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. The Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF JESUS' TEACHING.

EIGHTH STUDY.—THE SABBATH.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT TEACHING.

1. The Law.

Gen. 2 : 2, 3. Ex. 16 : 23, 29; 20 : 8–11; 23 : 12; 31 : 12–17; 34 : 21; 35 : 2, 3. Lev. 19 : 3, 30; 23 : 3; 24 : 5–8. Num. 15 : 32–36. Deut. 5 : 12–15.

2. Prophecy.

Is. 1 : 13; 56 : 2–8; 58 : 13, 14. Jer. 17 : 21–27. Ezek. 20 : 12–24; 22 : 8, 26; 44 : 24. Hos. 2 : 11. Amos 8 : 5, *cf.* also Neh. 10 : 31; 13 : 15–22.

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4. Apocryphal Literature.

1 Macc. 2:32–41, 2 Macc. 6:11.

II. THE TEACHING OF THE PHARISEES.

Matt. 12:2, 10, 14. Mark 2:24; 3:2, 6. Luke 6:1, 2; 13:14; 14:1, 3; 23:56. John 5:10, 16, 18; 9:14, 16; 19:31.

Hershon, Treasures of the Talmud; 12, 41, 102, 123, 130, 194, 272, 298. *Barclay*, The Talmud; 83–95. *Wünsche*, Erläuterung der Evangelien; 148–52; 309, 457, 458, 517, 561. *Josephus*, Antiq.; xii, 6:2; xiii, 1:3; xvi, 6:2; B. J.; ii, 16:4; iv, 9:12. *Schürer*, Jewish People; Div. II, Vol. II, 96–105; 120–2. *Edersheim*, Life and Times; II, 56–62, Appendix XVII. *Edersheim*, Social Life, 97. *Seidel*, Time of Jesus; 106, 107. *Stapfer*, Palestine; 347–57. *Smith*, D. B.; art. "Sabbath" (I). *Kalisch*, Commentary on Ex. 20.

III. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

Matt. 12:1–12; 24:20. Mark 2:23–28; 3:1–5. Luke 6:1–11; 13:11–17; 14:1–6. John 5:9; 7:22, 23.

IV. COMPARISON.

1. The Relation of Jesus' Teaching to Phariseeism.
2. The Relation of Jesus' Teaching to that of the Old Testament.

V. SUMMARY OF JESUS' TEACHING.

NINTH STUDY.—CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

I. ATTITUDE OF JESUS TOWARD PHARISEEISM.

1. As reflected in his teaching studied in the preceding lessons.

a. Toward the authority of the Pharisaic scribes; *b.* Toward the content of their teaching; *c.* Toward their practice.

2. As shown in other statements of Jesus about Pharisaic teaching and practice.

Matt. 5:20; 6:2, 5, 16; 11:16–19; 15:3; 16:1–4; 16:6–12; 21:43–45; chap. 23. Luke 11:39, 45–53; 12:1; 14:7–14; 16:15; 18:10–12; 20:45–47. John 9:41.

II. ATTITUDE OF JESUS TOWARD THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. As reflected in the teaching already studied.

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2. As shown in other statements of Jesus about the Old Testament.

Matt. 5:17–19; 12:4, 5; 19:16–21; 22:35–40. Luke 4:21; 10:26–28; 16:16–18. John 5:45–47; 7:19, 22.

NOTE.—Consider (1) whether Jesus treated the whole Old Testament alike—looked upon it as all and in every aspect of equal authority. (2) If not, where he draws the line of distinction, whether (*a*) between books or groups of books, or (*b*) between moral and ceremonial laws, or (*c*) between principles and statutes.

III. CONDENSED SUMMARY OF JESUS' ETHICAL TEACHING.

1. His specific teachings.

a. Anger; *b*. Retaliation; *c*. Resistance; *d*. Chastity; *e*. Marriage and divorce; *f*. Oaths and truthfulness; *g*. Fasting; *h*. Clean and unclean meats; *i*. Ceremonial purity; *j*. The Sabbath.

2. His fundamental ethical principle.

3. His ultimate standard and test for all ethical principles and for all rules and practices.

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Inductive Studies in the Acts.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30–63 A. D.

SEC. 19. PAUL'S THIRD EVANGELIZING TOUR.

Acts 18:23—21:16. 55–58 A. D. Asia Minor, Illyricum, Greece.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 18:23, Revisitation of the Churches of the First Tour.
Par. 2. 18:24–28, The Work of Apollos in Ephesus and Corinth.
Par. 3. 19:1–7, Paul Gives Christian Baptism to Certain Ephesians.
Par. 4. 19:8–20, Two Years of Ministry and Teaching in Ephesus.
Par. 5. 19:21, 22, Paul's Plans for Future Work.
Par. 6. 19:23–41, Uprising of the Ephesian Tradesmen against Paul.
Par. 7. 20:1–6, Revisitation of the Churches in Greece.
Par. 8. 20:7–12, Incidents of Paul's Week in Troas.
Par. 9. 20:13–16, Paul Journeys toward Jerusalem.
Par. 10. 20:17–35, Paul's Address to the Ephesian Elders.
Par. 11. 20:36–38, The Departure from Miletus.
Par. 12. 20:1–16, Paul Insists on Going to Jerusalem.

1. Prepare a concise abstract of the material contained in this section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders (20:17–35), reproducing as exactly as possible the thought and spirit of the text.

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3. Observe the itinerary of the third evangelizing tour, and the kind of work done: (1) Revisitation in Galatia (the territory of the first tour), occupying perhaps one or two months. (2) New work in Ephesus, occupying between two and three years. (3) Revisitation in Macedonia and Achaia, occupying more than three months. (4) Return from Corinth to Jerusalem, by way of Macedonia, Troas, Miletus, Tyre, and Cæsarea, occupying about two months. (5) The Epistle to the Galatians was probably written from Antioch in the year 54 A. D., some little time before the third evangelizing tour was begun. (6) Three epistles still extant were written on this journey, First Corinthians in the spring of 57 A. D., from Ephesus; Second Corinthians in the summer of 57 A. D., from Macedonia; Romans in the spring of 58 A. D., from Corinth. (7) Definite mention is made (1 Cor. 5:9) of a letter not now extant, written to the church at Corinth previous to our canonical First Corinthians.

II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *Paul's plan for the third evangelizing tour.*—Where was Paul between the second and third tours? Consider the probability, on the South-Galatian hypothesis, that the epistle to the Galatians was written at Antioch in this period. In what year did Paul set out on his third tour? Was he alone at the beginning? What churches did he first revisit? What is meant (Acts 18:23) by "the region of Galatia and Phrygia"? What important district did he now intend to evangelize (Acts 16:6; 18:21)? Trace upon the map Paul's journey from Antioch of Syria to Ephesus. Was the evangelization of Asia from Ephesus the main purpose and work of the third tour? Did he also plan work in Illyricum (Rom. 15:19, locate upon the map) and revisitation of the churches in Greece? Was it a part of Paul's plan also to visit Rome and even territory still farther west (Acts 19:21; Rom. 15:19, 23)?

2. *Apollos' work in Ephesus and Corinth.*—When did Apollos come to Ephesus, from where, and why? Is anything known of his career previous to this time? Ascertain something about the life, education, and type of Judaism of the Alexandrian Jews. What had been the character of Apollos' religious and intellectual training? Consider his two greatest qualifications as a religious teacher, eloquence and learning in the Jewish Scriptures (Acts 18:24). How much did he know about Jesus? Why did he not know the full gospel story? What was taught him by Aquila and Priscilla? Who were they, and whence had they their Christian instruction? What did Apollos' readiness to receive

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their teaching indicate as to his character? Why did he wish to leave Ephesus and preach in Achaia? What special work did he do (Acts 18:27, 28)? Consider his labors and influence in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:12; 2:4; 3:4–10); was his work here among Jews or Gentiles? Was he personally responsible for the actions of the "Apollos" faction in the Corinthian church?

3. *Johannine and Christian baptism.*—What was the significance of this rite as used by John the Baptist (Matt. 3:6; Acts 19:4)? Why had Jesus received it (Matt. 3:13–16)? What did John himself say of his baptism as compared with that of the coming Messiah (Matt. 3:11)? Did Jesus personally practice baptism after he began his ministry in Galilee? Why did the disciples of Christ afterward use this rite (Matt. 28:19)? Were these "certain disciples" (Acts 19:2) at Ephesus converts of Apollos' preaching? Why did they not know of the giving of the Holy Spirit? Explain what is meant thereby. What was the difference between the baptism of John and the baptism "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 19:5)? Explain the Holy Spirit manifestations of tongue-speaking and prophesying (Acts 19:6, *cf.* 1 Cor. 14:1–19).

4. *Paul's long ministry in Ephesus.*—Locate Ephesus upon the map and ascertain all you can as to its size, the nationalities of its inhabitants, its political, commercial, and social characteristics, and the kinds and condition of religion and morals found there in Paul's time. Among what class did Paul work during the first three months in this city? Had he previously been invited to do so (Acts 18:19–21)? What results attended his work for the Jews? How did Jewish opposition to the gospel after a time manifest itself? Did the Jews make Paul trouble during his subsequent period of work in Ephesus (Acts 20:19)? With reference to this consider the whole address in Acts 20:17–35. After Paul withdrew from his work among the Jews in the synagogue, where and how did he carry on his gospel teaching? What was the "school of Tyrannus" (Acts 19:9), why did Paul teach there, and what was the relation, if any, of his work to Tyrannus' work? Who would gather to receive instruction from Paul at this place — Gentiles or Jews, or both, and in what numbers? How long did this daily instruction continue? Had Paul previously done any teaching that was so regular, systematic, and prolonged? What did Paul accomplish by this period of work? Was Christianity spread from Ephesus throughout the province of Asia (Acts 19:10)?

5. *Incidents of the work in Ephesus.*—Explain the nature of the handkerchief and apron cures mentioned in Acts 19:12 (*cf.* Acts 5:12–

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16). What was the divine purpose of these miracles? Explain the incident of the Jewish exorcists recorded in Acts 19:13–16 (*cf.* Acts 8:4–24; 13:4–12). Was this humiliating defeat of the sons of Sceva providentally appointed to overthrow their false work? How did the failure of these Jewish exorcists affect the attitude of the people toward Paul and his teaching? What were these books of the "curious arts" (Acts 19:19) which were burned? Explain the significance of this victory of Christianity over paganism.

6. *Paul's plans for future work.*— Consider Paul's plans for future activity as set forth in Acts 19:21. What is the meaning of the phrase (Acts 19:21) "purposed in the spirit"? Why did he send two of his fellow-workers on ahead into Macedonia? How much longer did he himself stay in Ephesus (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16:8, 9)? Why had Paul been for a long time (Rom. 1:13; 15:23) eager to visit Rome? What district still farther west did he have in mind to evangelize (Rom. 15:23, 24, 28)? Whither was he going, however, before he visited Rome and Spain (Acts 19:21; Rom. 15:25)? What were Paul's reasons for going to Jerusalem at this time (Rom. 15:25, 28)? Observe that 1 Corinthians was written from Ephesus in the spring of 57 A. D., not long before Paul's departure from Ephesus for the fulfilment of his plans to visit Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, Rome, and Spain. Did this plan provide for the evangelization of the entire western world as then known? Why did Paul choose to spread the gospel in the western rather than in the eastern world? Was the eastern world evangelized in the apostolic age? if so, by whom?

7. *The uprising of the Ephesian tradesmen.*— Consider the close resemblance between this uprising at Ephesus and the previous one at Philippi (Acts 16:12, 16–24). Are these the only two instances recorded in Acts where the Gentiles were the instigators of the opposition to Christianity? Did money interests lie at the bottom of both troubles? What business was Demetrius in, and how many were associated with him in the trade? Who used the little "shrines" that were made, and for what purpose? Consider the address of Demetrius to the tradesman (Acts 19:25–27) as to its shrewdness and ability. How correct and how effective were his two arguments against Paul, that Christianity was ruining their business, and that the worship of Diana was being overthrown? Why did the populace gather in the theater? Of what nationality were Gaius and Aristarchus, and why were they seized? Why did Paul wish to go before the crowd? Who restrained him from so doing, and why? What action was taken by the "chief

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officers" of Asia to protect Paul? Why were they friendly to him? What was the idea of the Jews in having Alexander address the populace? Why would they not hear him? Note carefully the four arguments used by the "town clerk" (Acts 19:35–40) in quieting the disturbance. Was his purpose to defend Christianity, or to restore order? What was the result of this uprising as regarded Christianity in Ephesus and the surrounding country?

8. *Revisitation in Macedonia and Achaia.*—In what year, and at what season of the year, did Paul set out on this portion of his third tour (1 Cor. 16:8)? Was the uprising of the tradesmen a cause or the cause of his leaving Ephesus? At what point in Asia did he stop, and for what reasons (2 Cor. 2:12, 13)? Where did Paul at last find Titus (2 Cor. 7:5, 6)? What places in Macedonia would Paul, of course, revisit at this time? Was it from one of these places, perhaps Philippi, that Paul wrote 2 Corinthians, in the summer of 57 A. D.? Why does the Acts give no account (Acts 20:2, 3) of Paul's work in Macedonia and Achaia on this journey? Was it at this time that Paul went to Illyricum, west and north of Macedonia, and preached the gospel (Rom. 15:19)? How long was Paul's stay in Achaia, probably at Corinth (Acts 20:3; 1 Cor. 16:5, 6)? What was the plot laid against Paul by the Jews there? What change of plans for the journey to Jerusalem was made to thwart this plot? Was it just before Paul left Corinth at this time, early in 58 A. D., that he wrote the epistle to the Romans? Trace upon the map this revisitation journey from Ephesus to Corinth.

9. *Paul's fellow-workers on this tour.*—Did Paul start out from Antioch on his third tour alone (*cf.* Acts 13:2–5; 15:36–40; 18:23)? Read through the material of this section (Acts 18:23—21:16) to see who became his principal companions in the work of this tour. Consider the work of Timothy (Acts 19:22; 20:4; Rom. 16:21; 1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10; 2 Cor. 1:1). Consider the work of Titus (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5–16; 8:16–24; 12:18). When was Luke with Paul on this journey, as indicated by the "we" passages, Acts 20:5—21:16? Consider the work of Apollos, Aquila, and Priscilla (Acts 18:26–28; 1 Cor. 16:12, 19). Also of Aristarchus, Tychicus, Trophimus, Erastus, Gaius, Sosthenes, and others (*cf.* Acts 19:29; 20:4; 1 Cor. 16:15–17; Rom. 16:21–23). What is thus indicated as to the character and methods of Paul's missionary activities? What as to the progress of the gospel?

10. *The return journey from Corinth to Jerusalem.*—Trace upon the

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map Paul's journey from Corinth to Jerusalem, by way of Philippi, Troas, Miletus, Tyre, Ptolemais, and Cæsarea. In what year, and at what time of the year, did Paul take this journey, and why? Indicate at what places on this journey stops were made, and what time was spent at each. Why are the details of the latter part of the journey given at such length? Can the approximate number of days consumed in going from Corinth to Jerusalem be ascertained (Acts 20: 6, 13–15; 21: 4, 7, 15)? How came Paul to stay a week at Troas? Is the farewell meeting there mentioned to introduce the account of the miracle worked by Paul on that occasion? Recount the accident to Eutychus and his restoration to life. Why is this incident given such prominence? Why did Paul stop at Miletus, when he had not wished to take time to stop at Ephesus (Acts 20: 16, 17)? How far was Miletus from Ephesus, and in what direction? What was the reason for Paul's haste on this journey (Acts 20: 16)? Why did he wish to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost? Why is the time of the stay at Cæsarea so indefinitely noted? Was the journey overland from Cæsarea to Jerusalem? What was the distance and the nature of the travel? With whom did they lodge at Jerusalem, and why?

11. *Sunday observance among the primitive Christians.*—With reference to this, consider carefully Acts 20: 7. Why was this meeting on the first day of the week? What was the purpose of the gathering? For other mention in the New Testament of the first day of the week see 1 Cor. 16: 22; Rev. 1: 10. When does Sunday observance by the Christians first become explicitly noted (see Justin Martyr, *Apology I*)? Is the growth of this custom to be explained as a commemoration of Christ's resurrection on the first day of the week, and as the meeting of a need for some day to be observed by the Gentile Christians, who had no Sabbath? If this was the origin of Sunday observance by the Christians, is it probable that the custom began very early, even immediately after the resurrection of Christ? Does the comparative silence of New Testament literature and the earliest patristic writings with reference to Sunday observance determine that there was nothing of this kind in the first century, or can that silence be reasonably explained? What was the nature of the first-century Sunday observance—commemoration and religious worship? Was it not until later that Sunday became specifically a day of rest, after the manner of the Jewish Sabbath? Did the Jewish Christians continue to observe the Sabbath, making Sunday observance an additional Christian feature of the week? Had Christ given any instruction that Sunday should be

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observed by his disciples instead of the Sabbath? Was it practicable to observe both days; if not, which would survive among the Christians, who were predominantly Gentiles? Was the change from Sabbath to Sunday observance in keeping with Christ's teaching and practice? Was this Sunday observance arranged or enjoined by the apostles? Consider carefully and explain Paul's teaching on the subject (Rom. 14:5; Gal. 4:9-11; Col. 2:16, 17). Is the Christian Sunday holier than the other days of the week? Does it matter which day of the week is observed, except for the practical value of uniformity? Why have a special religious day? In what does its proper observance consist?

12. *Paul's address to the Ephesian elders.*—Prepare an analysis of this address (Acts 20:18-35), for which the following may serve as a suggestion: (1) retrospective portion, vss. 18-21; (2) prospective for Paul, vss. 22-27; (3) prospective for the Ephesian church, vss. 28-31; (4) parting benediction, vss. 32-35. Why has the historian given so full an account of this address? Are we to suppose that it is reproduced verbatim, or that only an abstract is given? Consider its contents for thought and language peculiarly Pauline? Investigate, if possible, the textual and theological problem involved in the phrase (vs. 28) "the church of God." Consider the chief points of teaching contained in Paul's words on this occasion. What are the characteristics of the address? Compare with previous recorded addresses of Paul (Acts 13, 22, 26). Whence did Paul obtain the precious saying of Jesus used at the close of verse 35? Do we find, elsewhere in the New Testament, outside of the gospels, any other quotations of Jesus' utterances? Are there extra-biblical sayings of Christ in subsequent Christian writings which may be regarded as authentic?

13. *Predictions of impending trouble for Paul.*—Had Paul feared when he left Corinth that his mission to Jerusalem would bring him trouble (*cf.* Rom. 15:31)? Had this fear become a definite expectation by the time that he reached Miletus (*cf.* Acts 20:22, 23)? What was his attitude toward this dark future (*cf.* Acts 20:24)? Not knowing the details of the pending trouble, why did Paul think that he would no more see the Ephesian Christians (Acts 20:25)? On the view that there was a release of Paul in 63 A. D. and a subsequent imprisonment in 65 A. D., is it not altogether probable that he did visit Ephesus again (*cf.* Phile. 22; 1 Tim. 1:3; 2 Tim. 4:13, 20), and how then would his misconception at this time be explained? What is the meaning of the phrase (Acts 21:4) "through the spirit"? How was it that

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the Christians of Tyre could "through the spirit" advise Paul not to go to Jerusalem, when he regarded that as his duty? Did Philip's daughters at Cæsarea predict the coming trouble to Paul (Acts 21:9)? Had Agabus (*cf.* Acts 11:27, 28) come from Judea for the purpose of giving Paul this warning (Acts 21:10, 11)? What was his message? Did he advise Paul not to go to Jerusalem? Consider the impressive symbolism which Agabus used in giving his prediction. Compare the similar acts of the Old Testament prophets, 1 Kings 22:11; Isa. 20:3; Jer. 13:5–11; 19:10, 11; 27:2; Ezek. 4:1–3; 5:1–4; and elsewhere. What was the purpose of warning Paul beforehand of this trouble—to prevent his going to Jerusalem, or to prepare him for what was to come? Why did Paul's companions and friends plead with him not to go to Jerusalem (*cf.* Matt. 16:21–23)? What was Paul's reply to their pleadings (Acts 21:13, 14)? Was it in fact Paul's duty to go? if so, why?

III. Observations and Teachings.

1. *Organization.*—No mention is made in the history or the literature of the third missionary journey of the Christian organization, aside from the fact that the elders of the Ephesian church are referred to.—Deacons are not spoken of, though there may have been such officers.—The Ephesian elders (or presbyters) were also called bishops (Acts 20:17, 28), which indicates that these three names were used of the same office in the churches at this time.—The term "church" is commonly employed to denote the local body of believers in any place, so that the plural form of the word is frequent, *e. g.*, Rom. 16:4, 16; 1 Cor. 7:17; 11:16; 14:33, 34; 16:1, 19; Gal. 1:2, 22.—But "church" is also used in the singular, though less frequently, to denote the whole body of Christian believers everywhere, *e. g.*, Acts 9:31; 20:28; 1 Cor. 10:32; 15:9; Gal. 1:13.

2. *Environment.*—The Ephesian Jews were comparatively tolerant, and Paul worked longer among them than was his usual experience, but they became his bitter enemies and persecutors.—The gospel successfully overcame the Jewish exorcism and heathen magic which had had a firm hold in Ephesus.—Only twice in Paul's recorded experience did opposition to him originate with the Gentiles; once at Philippi on the second tour, and once at Ephesus on this third tour; the cause in both cases was the financial loss brought upon certain persons through the spread of the gospel.—But at Ephesus Paul was befriended and protected from the populace by the political officers of the Roman province.

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3. *Institutions.*—From the meeting at Troas on the first day of the week and from the reference in 1 Cor. 16:2, it may be inferred that Sunday was at this time observed by the Christians as their especial day of worship, commemorative of Christ's resurrection on that day. —The Sabbath, however, continued to be observed in addition by the Jewish Christians in the Jewish way, this being a part of their former religious life which they had not yet outgrown.—The "breaking of bread" at Troas is to be understood as meaning the Lord's Supper; and extended reference is also made to this rite in 1 Cor. 11:17–34.—The baptism into the name of Jesus was contrasted with the baptism of John, which was a preparatory rite, a pledge of repentance, and a symbol of initiation into the kingdom of the Messiah of God; while Christian baptism was an acknowledgment of, belief in, and self-committal to Jesus Christ, which acknowledgment seems to have been attended in the apostolic era with the bestowal of the extraordinary gifts of tongue-speaking and prophesying.

4. *Belief and teaching.*—The only address or sermon of Paul recorded on this tour was that to the Ephesian elders, in which he directed their attention to the faithful, lowly, and successful ministry which he had served among them (Acts 20:19–21, 26, 27, 31, 33–35), and exhorted them to continue in his footsteps.—The epistles which Paul wrote upon this tour are his greatest, and contain the main body of his teaching as it has come down to us.

5. *Daily life.*—Paul had a large number of fellow-workers with him at various points in his tour; some were Gentiles, some were Hellenists; the most prominent among them were Timothy and Titus.—Apollos, who was a learned and eloquent Jew from Alexandria, became a most efficient Christian evangelist.—In Ephesus Paul gave daily instruction in the gospel for two years, a more systematic period of teaching than is recorded of him elsewhere.—In Paul's epistles to the Corinthians we see portrayed much of the daily life of one of Paul's greatest churches, a life by no means ideal or perfect, and yet reflecting the glory, exaltation, and power of the Christian religion.

6. *Divine guidance.*—Paul's third evangelizing tour was in the main a long period of work in Asia at Ephesus, where he had desired to labor on the second tour, but had then been providentially directed into Macedonia.—By his work at Ephesus he had established the gospel widely and permanently in the whole province of Asia.—Paul's divinely inspired purpose embraced the entire evangelization of the

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civilized world west of Palestine, including Greece, Italy, and Spain.—Paul went to Jerusalem in 58 A. D. under the leading of the Spirit, conscious of and prepared for the impending trouble, setting aside the protests of his friends and advisers.

Literature.— Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of GLOAG, HACKETT, MEYER, and the CAMBRIDGE BIBLE. Also NEANDER, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 215–301; FARRAR, Life and Work of St. Paul, chaps. 31–40a; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chaps. 13–20; STIFLER, Introduction to the Book of Acts, secs. xv, xvi; RAMSAY, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 269–303; Church in the Roman Empire, pp. 90–168; WEIZSÄCKER, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 303–405; BIBLE DICTIONARY, articles Agabus, Alexander, Alexandria, Apollos, Aquila, Aristarchus, Artemis, Asiarchs, Baptism, Demetrius, Ephesus, Eutychus, Exorcism, John (the Baptist), Luke, Magic, Priscilla, Rome, Timothy, Titus, Troas, Trophimus, Tyrannus, Tychicus.

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Exploration and Discovery.

THE WINTER IN EGYPT.

DURING the month of July at University College in London Mr. Petrie and his assistants have been holding an exhibition of the material taken by them from the soil of Egypt during the winter of 1896–7. Of Mr. Quibell's success at El Kab we have already given an account in the BIBLICAL WORLD (May 1897). Mr. Petrie achieved the unusual success of discovering and opening an old empire mastaba tomb in a cemetery of the same period at Deshasheh, about fifty miles above Cairo. A fine collection of the remarkable remains which he took from this mastaba are now on their way to Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, and on their arrival they will be duly pictured and described to our readers. With this material comes also a representative selection from El Kab.

The most remarkable achievement of the Fund this past winter was the discovery of a great mass of Græco-Roman papyri at Behneseh, eighty miles south of Cairo, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. Our readers are already familiar with the ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ, or "Sayings of Jesus," found with these papyri. This fragment, however interesting and important, is only one of the many revelations already made or to be expected from this great mass of material. Nearly the whole site of Behneseh (ancient Oxyrrynchus) was underlaid more or less plentifully with these papyri. Evidently the city office of Roman administration, unable longer to accommodate such a plethora of archives in its files, had thrown them out wholesale to be burned. For this purpose they were carried out in baskets, and, without emptying from the baskets, were laid in large heaps and fired. Luckily for us, they were too massive to burn well, and, on being covered up by natural accumulations, they have remained undisturbed until last winter. Had Egypt been a land of rains, they must necessarily have long since decayed to dust, but in a country of no rain such material is preserved indefinitely. Such heaps were found in three places, with the ancient baskets still so sturdy that their contents could be carried off safely in them to the camp of the excavators. On one day no less than thirty-six such baskets full were taken out, and again on another day twenty-five. Besides these reject papyri, the town site, as we have stated above, fur-

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nished a vast host of fragments, among which were the ΛΟΓΙΑ fragment, and, for example, also "one to two hundred Iliad MSS., which will give an idea of the wealth of classical documents." "One hundred and fifty of the best rolls" were kept by the Egyptian government for the museum at Gizeh. The rest, comprising 280 boxes, are now being studied at Oxford, and it will take ten to twenty years to edit and publish them all. Nearly all are in Greek, but some are in Latin, Coptic, and Arabic; they date from the first to the ninth century A. D. In such a great mass of material almost anything may be expected to turn up, and to the student of early Christian literature the possibilities are attractive in the extreme, for already in the so-called Logia we have revealed to us as a fact the existence of a class of literature about which we could before only theorize.

The Chicago Society of Egyptian Research had a financial interest in these excavations also, and a portion of these papyri are already on their way to Haskell Museum. The importance of this field of excavation has moved the Egypt Exploration Fund in London to establish as a part of their work a "Græco-Roman Branch." They say:

"It is now proposed to establish another department of the Fund, to be specially devoted to the Graeco-Roman period of Egyptian history. This period, of just one thousand years, covers the foundation of Alexandria, the dynasty of the Ptolemies, the organization of the Roman province, and the growth of primitive Christianity. Its annals and its literature must be searched for beneath the sands of Egypt, which faithfully keep the secrets entrusted to them. No other branch of exploration has been more fruitful of results in recent times, or has a brighter outlook for the future. The lost Greek texts that have been recovered from Egypt comprise Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, the Mimes of Herondas, and the Odes of Bacchylides. Of early Christian documents, we have had the gospel and apocalypse of Peter, the book of Enoch, and, lastly, the fragment of Logia published herewith. From this source, too, have been derived materials that enable us to reconstruct in some degree the inner life of Egypt, from the last of the Pharaohs to the Arab conquest."

An annual volume of 300 4to pages will be published by this branch, and given to every annual subscriber of $5. We would urge upon every friend of classic or of early Christian literature the importance of supporting this work. Friends of the University also can obtain a double benefit by sending their subscriptions to the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research, for, besides furthering the work, they

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will thus receive not merely the annual volume, but will also increase the proportion of papyri to come to Haskell Museum, where all are welcome to see and study them.

Copies of the newly discovered Logia are now at Haskell Museum for all subscribers to the society.[1]

DR. PORTER, of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirût, sends to the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund a copy of a squeeze of a Greek inscription on a gravestone, found near Nazareth. Its probable translation is as follows:

"My father was Quintus, my mother was Philous.
My name is Apion, my fatherland . . . . Gadara, fond of the Muses.
My mother, Philous, is of Sophè, the horseless.
Leaving a home (now) childless, I dwell in a tomb at the Three Ways.
. . . . my father came after me sorrowing. He mourned for me who had lived twice eleven years."

The inscription is significant in showing how Roman influences were about Nazareth. The epithet applied to Gadara is also interesting.

Another discovery reported to the Académie des Inscriptions by M. Héron de Villefosse has been made in the region of Nazareth. It consists of a military report of the year A. D. 139 in which are given the name of the governor of Palestine in that year, P. Calpurnius Atilianus, and the list of the auxiliary troops who had a share in putting down the revolt of Barchokeba.

THERE has recently been announced the discovery o a mosaic map of the country lying to the east of the Mediterranean, in the floor of an ancient church in Mâdeba, on the east of Jordan. From such descriptions as have yet appeared it would seem as if the mosaic dates from the fifth or sixth century of our era, and may aid materially in the identification of several towns, and even in the reconstruction of Jerusalem of late Roman times. In this connection it is noteworthy that the map shows a series of colonnades running between the principal gates of Jerusalem. The map has further archæological interest in that each town or holy place is represented by a building or walls. Reproductions of the map are already issued from photographs made by Father Germer-Durand of Jerusalem.

[1] Address J. H. Breasted, University of Chicago.

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Work and Workers.

THE Transactions of the Tenth International Oriental Congress will be issued by M. E. Leroux, of Paris.

PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON'S *Modern Reader's Bible* now adds to its volumes "Daniel and the Minor Prophets."

REV. FREDERIC RENDALL, A.M., has issued through the Macmillan Co. *The Acts of the Apostles in Greek and English.*

MR. GLADSTONE is wisely putting into permanent form his literary gleanings, many of which deal with biblical themes.

MESSRS. T. Y. CROWELL & CO. have in press for early publication, *Isaiah, A Study of Chapters I–XII*, by Professor H. G. Mitchell, of Boston University.

MISS HELEN GOULD has placed a considerable sum in the hands of Bishop J. H. Vincent to be used in the completion of the Hall of the Christ, at Chautauqua.

PRESIDENT ALVAH HOVEY of Newton Theological Institute has returned from a restful and profitable trip through Egypt, Palestine, and portions of Southern Europe.

The Queen's Diamond Jubilee Bible, in sizes to suit all classes of her Majesty's subjects, is fresh from the press of Henry Frowde, London. It contains two portraits of her Majesty and a series of callotypes.

PROFESSOR GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, of the staff of the BIBLICAL WORLD sailed for Europe August 7 to spend a year in special research on comparative religion in London, Paris, and Geneva.

PRESIDENT W. R. HARPER sailed on the same date and same steamer for a trip of five weeks, to build up his system and recuperate his strength for the work of next year. His friends will all be glad to learn that he is receiving exactly the sought-for benefit.

THE REV. DAVID SCHLEY SCHAFF, D.D., son of the late Professor Philip Schaff, has accepted the chair of church history in Lane Theo-

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logical Seminary made vacant by the resignation of Professor H. W. Hulbert.

DR. JOHN P. PETERS' *Nippur*, Vol. I, is attracting large attention from reviewers, particularly because of the important results which will be described in the second volume, yet to appear, of the second campaign to Babylonia.

THE LATE SIR RICHARD BURTON, F.R.G.S., left in MS. an important work which will soon be issued in book form. It is entitled *Human Sacrifice among the Eastern Jews*. It will contain an introduction by W. H. Wilkins.

M. DE MORGAUX has nearly ready a new work entitled *Recherches sur les Origines de l' Égypte : Ethnographie Préhistorique et Tombeau Royal de Négadah* — a sumptuous volume of 600 pages with 900 illustrations, at 21s.

C. E. ARNOLD, A.M., has added to the apparatus for the study of Paul's life a *Chart of Paul's Journeyings*, published through John D. Wattles & Co. It is clear, precise, and convenient, and all within small, stiff cloth covers.

THE REV. FRANK HUGH FOSTER, PH.D., D.D., Professor of systematic theology in the Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, Cal., has been appointed to give the *Stone Lectures* in Princeton Seminary in 1899–1900.

MR. F. G. HILTON PRICE has just issued a *A Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* in his possession. It is a luxurious volume, containing several hundred illustrations and many colored and photographic plates. It is sold at £2 2s.

THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE has issued Circular No. 3, which describes more explicitly the times and places of the meetings September 5–12. In the list of papers already announced we notice a goodly number of American scholars.

THE NATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY of Scotland received an income for 1896 of $155,530. Its increasing usefulness and large influence have been due largely to the energies of Dr. W. H. Goold, whose thirty-six years' service and whose life have just closed.

THOMAS NELSON & SONS (New York) have bound up under one cover the Revised Version and the new helps, entitled *The Bible Treas-*

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ury. Sunday-school and other Bible teachers will greatly appreciate this happy combination — the best in all the long list of Teacher's Bibles.

PROFESSOR A. T. ROBERTSON, DD., of Louisville Theological Seminary, has just completed (August 12–22) a very instructive and well-presented course of lectures on "The Life and Letters of Paul" at the second session of the Pine Lake Christian Culture Assembly, near La Porte, Ind.

DEAN FARRAR'S new book, *The Bible: Its Meaning and Supremacy*, is reviewed anonymously on a full page in a recent number of the *Academy* under the caption "General Inspiration." Though favorable, on the whole, it criticises the miscellaneous character of the book and the evident repetition found in its chapters.

DR. H. L. WILLETT, of the University of Chicago, gave two courses at Winfield, Kan., June 16–22, on the Life of Paul and Old Testament Literature. He also gave four lectures at the Christain Endeavor Convention, at San Francisco, in July, and lectured at Midland Chatauqau at DesMoines, Iowa, as well as at Bethany Park, Ind., and Macatawa Park, Mich.

Latest Excavations in Nippur is the title of a work soon to be issued by John D. Wattles & Co., Philadelphia (price $2.50), under the editorial care of Professor H. V. Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania. This work promises to bring the results of the latest excavations by Dr. J. H. Haynes before the public in an attractive and beautiful form. It is to appear simultaneously in the United States and Great Britain.

PROFESSOR FRITZ HOMMEL, of the University of Munich, has entered a protest against the modern school of Old Testament criticism in a new work just published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His book is entitled *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition as Illustrated by the Monuments*. This is a translation from the German made by Edmund McClure and Leonard Crossle. The American publishers are E. & J. B. Young & Co., New York.

MR. MOODY'S Bible-Study Conference at Northfield, Mass., has just had a remarkable session — the twentieth — to which some of the most evangelistic Bible lecturers have made valuable contributions. Among these may be mentioned Rev. George Campbell Morgan of England; Rev. George H. C. Macgregor, the Scotchman, of London;

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Dr. A. T. Pierson, of Philadelphia; Bishop John P. Newman, Rev. R. A. Torrey, Dr. A. C. Dixon, Rev. T. A. Hamlin, and Ira D. Sankey.

THE *Independent* of August 12, publishes a very interesting communication by Professor J. Rendel Harris on the Grenfell-Hunt papyri. Professor Harris calls special attention to a papyrus leaf of the third century which contains a large part of the first chapter of the gospel of St. Matthew, and, perhaps, has the honor of being the earliest known fragment of our existing gospels.

STUDENTS of the New Testament and of early church history will welcome and put into use the new series of books published by J. C. Hinrichs in Leipzig. The title is *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.* It is edited by the Church Fathers' Commission of the "Royal Prussian Academy of Science." Vol. I consists of the exegetical and homiletical writings of Hippolytus (paper M. 18; bound in half leather, M. 20.50). It is proposed to issue about fifty volumes, all of them in the original text, with notes on variant readings, etc.

J. C. B. MOHR (Paul Siebeck) in Freiburg, i. B. and Leipzig, announce the speedy publication of a short commentary on the Old Testament (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*) edited by Karl Marti, professor of theology in the University of Bern. It is to be the Old Testament part of the well-known *Hand-Commentar* to the New Testament edited by Professor H. Holtzmann. Kautzsch's new edition of the Old Testament in German is made the basis from which to start, and all the contributors are representatives of the same school. The following volumes are promised to appear during 1897: *Ezekiel* by Bertholet; *Proverbs* by Wildeboer; *Job* by Duhm. For 1897–8 these additional volumes are to appear: *Genesis* by Holzinger; *Judges* by Budde; *Kings* by Benzinger; *Isaiah* by Marti. The commentaries on the remaining books are assigned as follows: *Exodus* to *Joshua*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Chronicles* to Holzinger; *Samuel* to Budde; *Jeremiah* and *Psalms* to Duhm; *Minor Prophets* and *Daniel* to Marti. The five *Megilloth* (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther) to Budde, Bertholet, and Wildeboer. If this Old Testament commentary proves to be as good as its New Testament predecessor, it will be a very welcome addition to our already long list of exegetical works. [Duhm's *Job* and Wildeboer's *Proverbs* have just been published.]

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Notes and Opinions.

THE cut upon the cover of this number is a reproduction of the head of Mary in Titian's famous picture of the Assumption now in

the Academy of Fine Arts, Venice. Mary is represented as rising from her coffin, now filled with flowers, away from the astonished apostles toward heaven. While Titian can hardly be called a deeply religious

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painter in portraying the legend of the miraculous carrying of Mary to heaven at her death, he has produced a work not only of great power and movement but also of feeling. The face of Mary who now for the first time catches a glimpse of the glory awaiting her above, is full of the tenderest love and humility, and the intense upward glance of expectation and wonder is not to be easily forgotten.

FROM a paper by C. H. Levy, in the *Independent* of August 12, we learn that Max Nordau, the author of *Degeneration*, and Dr. Theodor Herzl, of Vienna have issued a call for an international congress of Jewish philanthrophists, to be held in Basle, August 25–27. The purpose of this congress, as stated in the call is very varied, but fundamentally appears to be the demonstration of the practicability of "Zionism." The members of this movement are endeavoring to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, proposing that a joint stock company be formed to buy the entire country, in which the Jews should then be colonized.

It is doubtful whether such a movement will meet with much favor, in fact it is already condemned by the Executive Committee of the union of German Rabbis and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Nevertheless, the newspapers have recently announced the formation of the stock company, with a large capital. Recently, also, eighteen prominent Jews, among them Mr. Zangwill, the novelist, were sent to Palestine to report on the possibility of such a new state, and it is said that their opinion was strongly in favor of the movement, and one cause for the summoning of the congress. It will be interesting to follow the progress of this movement.

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Book Reviews.

The Religions of India. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, PH.D. (Vol. I of Handbooks of the History of Religions, edited by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.) Boston: Ginn & Co., 1895. Pp. xvi + 612, 8vo. $1.50.

It has, indeed, been some time since this work appeared from the press, but its permanent and substantial character is warrant enough for a notice of its contents even at so late a date. It is by all means the finest single work on the religions of India that exists today in any language. The author is the successor of Professor Whitney of Yale University and has admirable qualifications for the task. The book is the first of a series of volumes projected in America and published in Boston. It is a splendid evidence of the interest taken in America in the study of religions. And the author has a splendid subject. India, the mother of religions, has produced some of the most wonderful achievements of human thought, as well as some of the most puerile, some of the most remarkable examples of human perversity, as well as of nobility, magnificent art and architecture, unparalleled ugliness. Full of contrasts, full of mystery, its very name suggests wonder, doubt, admiration, despair. To write its history is impossible; to write the history of its religion is a tremendous task. And yet no man can be educated today in the largest sense of the word who does not know something about the religious thought of this great country. And this is specially important because America seems to mean to the people of India something unspeakably attractive, benign, and remunerative, both in a spiritual and material sense. We are being visited by fakirs of the original type, by Swamis, and by other learned men, who sow seeds of truth and error which they hope will in due time produce an abundant harvest, and who return to inform their credulous countrymen that America is on the eve of conversion to the faith of India. But to speak more seriously, the achievements of Indian religions are worthy of the study of every thoughtful man, and here is a book where they are told with candor and criticism, with sympathy and yet with faithful regard for truth. No book preserves so just a balance in its

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selection and discussion of matters as this of Hopkins. While it is not altogether easy reading, owing to the somewhat labored style of the writer, and while the arrangement of material is not always the happiest, yet we cannot but believe that it will be a long time before a better book will be produced on this subject. G. S. G.

The Bible: Its Meaning and Supremacy. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. xviii + 359, 8vo, cloth.

In this volume Canon Farrar seeks to do for the doctrine of inspiration what he did for the doctrine of hell in his *Eternal Hope* and *Mercy and Judgment*, viz., to present clearly the actual teaching of Christianity stripped of all unessential and eccentric opinion. Incidentally, as if to prove to his readers that he has not displaced the Bible from its proper position, he adds—one cannot help feeling to the weakening of the book—a collection of quotations in which various men of various or no creeds pay testimony to Scripture. In none of his works does the author write with greater feeling and earnestness, reaching at times an almost controversial fervor that will hardly aid the book's popularity among those whose opinions its author combats. Canon Farrar makes, if not an impartial student, at least an excellent advocate.

The main purpose of the book is to show the true character of the Bible by defending it from its over-zealous friends. In these friends' theories of verbal inerrancy and plenary inspiration, to say nothing of their casuistical harmonizations and allegorical explanations, Canon Farrar finds the chief explanation of the jeers of skeptics. His method is as follows: After having shown the varied character of the Bible, and the falseness of many current doctrines of inspiration, he proceeds to discuss the effect of the higher criticism upon the worth of Scripture, and thereupon to construct and defend a theory of inspiration which may be summed up in the formula "the Bible contains, not is the word of God." As such it is not infallible in all matters, and "nothing but casuistry and incongruity have resulted from the attempt to transfer it from the region of religious faith to that of exact science (p. xiv). This position naturally leads to a discussion of instances of unjustifiable use of the Scriptures and resulting difficulties.

So general is this treatment, and so prodigal is the author's use of example and quotation, that it is impossible to do much more than consider his general positions as to inspiration. These may be stated

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something as follows: (1) The Bible is not infallible outside the sphere of religion, nor is the morality of all its historical characters either perfect or a basis of authority. (2) Many things are mistakenly ascribed to God through a habit or form of speech among the Jews. Much of the morality recorded in the Old Testament cannot be defended, although the teaching of the Old Testament as a whole is noble. (3) The "verbal dictation" theory of inspiration is hopelessly disproved by the character of the various writers of Scripture, and the discrepancies and errors it contains. (4) "Plenary inspiration" is an undefined and undefinable expression, being read by different writers in widely differing senses. A right view of inspiration involves neither inerrancy or exclusiveness. God is always revealing himself to earnest souls. (5) The higher criticism is necessary, and its results do not affect the fundamental truths of religion. (6) The Bible contains the word of God, but is only one of the means of revelation. (7) "*In everything which is requisite for man's salvation* the lessons contained in Scripture—*with the coördinate help of that Spirit by whom its writers were moved* to aid us in our discrimination—are an infallible guide to us in things necessary" (p. 150). "The plain teachings of Christ are the sole, infallible guide" (p. 154).

It is hardly possible that all readers will agree with Canon Farrar in his conclusions, but it cannot be questioned that he represents fairly a growing school of intelligent Christians who have realized that Christianity is not a worship of a book but of a God, and that the true Word of God is not printed but alive. There is nothing more needed in popular theology than a clear understanding of the limitations of any theory of inspiration. So long as men confuse "inspiration" with "infallibility" so long will any true study of the Scriptures be difficult. For our own part, although we should not subscribe to all the views of the book and would question whether the author's conception of inspiration is altogether satisfactory, we welcome every attempt like this of Canon Farrar's at a statement of a rational teaching in regard to the subject. There are stronger books in the same line, but none more readable or better fitted for popular use.

Two incidental slips as to statement may perhaps be noted in the book. Is it true that "the Pilgrim Fathers and their earliest descendants tortured harmless old women whom they called witches, and treated saintly, if misguided Quakers with remorseless fury?" (p. 100), and that Baptists believe that in baptism true believers should go under the water "as adults?" (p. 155). S. M.

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A Concordance to the Greek Testament; according to the texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers, Edited by REV. W. F. MOULTON, D.D., editor of the English edition of Winer's Grammar of New Testament Greek, REV. A. S. GEDEN, M.A., tutor in Wesleyan College, Richmond. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1897. Pp. xii+237. Price $7.00.

For thorough exegetical study of the New Testament a concordance of the original Greek is an invaluable aid. However excellent our commentaries or even our lexicons, the independent student will often find himself driven to undertake original lexicographical work, and for this an accurate concordance of the Greek is an almost indispensable tool. It would scarcely be too much to say that progress in exact interpretation of the New Testament might be gauged by the use that is made of such a concordance. And though the student who reads his New Testament only in translation has no use for it, and though it is to be feared that many who can and do use the Greek text seldom employ the Greek concordance, yet even these gain indirectly from the publication of such a book as the one before us, because the character of the work upon the New Testament which they use at secondhand will be improved by it. Concordances of the Greek New Testament there have been before, from the unpublished one prepared by Euthalius Rhodius in 1300, A. D., down to the work of Bruder, first issued in 1842, and in its several editions (the last issued in 1888), the standard work down to the present year. Other concordances there are still for sale also; the Englishman's Concordance which indexes by the Greek word, but prints the passages themselves in the English translation; Hudson's, which does not print the passages at all, but only the references; and Schmoller's, which adopts a compromise, printing the passages only in the case of the more important words, and omitting the least important words altogether. Yet none of these books meets the needs of New Testament scholars. Bruder, excellent in its general plan and in its mechanical execution, is sadly defective in that it has not been adequately corrected to conform to the critical texts published in recent years. All the others suffer both from this cause and from various defects of plan. The present book is based upon a critical text, that of Westcott and Hort, recording also the readings of Tischendorf's eighth edition, and of the English Revision, so far as they affect the form or construction of the index word. It indexes all words except

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καί and δέ and prints the passages in all cases except under the article (even here for portions of the list), prepositions governing but one case, and the particles and pronouns that occur most frequently. This list of exceptions to the general rule of printing the passage itself, is longer than it ought to be; but this is almost the only fault the book has, and for the great majority of students the defect is unimportant. Our hearty thanks are due to the editors for their arduous labor. In the interest of exact biblical scholarship it is to be hoped that the book will have a large sale. With this and the Hatch and Redpath Concordance of the Septuagint recently completed, we are well equipped for lexicographical study of the Greek Bible. Will some scholar now undertake a concordance of Josephus and Philo?

E. D. B.

Das Kindheits-Evangelium nach Lucas und Matthaeus unter Herbeiziehung der aussercanonischen Paralleltexte quellenkritisch untersucht von ALFRED RESCH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. Pp. iv + 336, 8vo. M. 6.50.

The four chapters in our gospels relating to the descent, birth, and childhood of our Lord (Matt., chaps. 1 and 2; Luke, chaps. 1 and 2) are believed by Dr. Resch to have a common source in a very early Christian document independent of the *Logia* or *Urevangelium*, but like it originally written in Hebrew. It is supposed to have been about as large as the Book of Ruth, of which indeed it was a conscious imitation. The title is preserved in the opening words of the first gospel, which are referred to the first two chapters alone, and not to the whole work: "The book of the generations of Jesus Christ." It began with an account of the circumstances connected with the birth of John the Baptist, and closed with a genealogy going back to Adam like that found in Luke, but as far as David corresponding substantially in details (though not in order) with that given in the first gospel.

The publication of this Gospel of the Childhood cannot be dated later than 53 A. D. or earlier than the death of Mary. The author, of course, cannot be even conjectured, but it is cautiously hinted that the book may have been in some way connected with Mary. "If we could assume that the *Tol'doth Yēshua'* (as it would be called in Hebrew) proceeded from memoranda or at least communications of Mary the darkness which envelops this document would give place to light."

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This hypothesis, it is urged, would account for the remarkable reticence of the writer in relation to Mary, who is the only pious person in the story not distinctly commended.

The direct and indirect influence of this *Tol'doth Yēshua'* in the early church is believed to have been very considerable. It was used, thinks Dr. Resch, not only by the writers of the first and third gospels in accordance with the special purpose of each, but also by the apostle John, the author of the fourth gospel, the prologue of which can only be understood when its literary dependence on the Gospel of the Childhood is clearly recognized. The Pauline epistles (exclusive of those to the Thessalonians) and the Apocalypse also exhibit acquaintance with this gospel. Its influence can be traced in the writings of Justin Martyr, and to some extent in several of the apocryphal gospels, especially the protevangelium of James, and one recension of the gospel according to Thomas. Its testimony concerning the supernatural birth of Jesus underlies the earliest creed as represented in the epistles of Ignatius, the apology of Aristides, and the writings of Justin. Its indirect influence, it is thought, can be traced as late as Epiphanius. Dr. Resch even finds a glimpse of it in non-Christian circles. The Jewish myths about Jesus referred to by Celsus which seem to have something in common with the mediæval *Tol'doth Yēshua'* are supposed to imply acquaintance with the Christian *Tol'doth*.

These opinions are supported with a wonderful amount of learning and ingenuity, as all familiar with the writings of Dr. Resch will expect, but they are very far from proved. The existence of a common source for the Matthew and Luke passages is by no means demonstrated. The parallels of thought and expression enumerated on pages 26 and 27 can be almost wholly accounted for by similarity of theme; and there are significant variations as well as correspondences. The strongly Semitic coloring of our gospel texts, which has long been recognized, particularly in the Luke passages, does not necessitate a Hebrew original, although the possibility must be freely conceded. The alleged traces of the Gospel of the Childhood in patristic and apocryphal literature are at the best indistinct. The extra-canonical statements collected by Dr. Resch are in many cases curious and interesting, but need not be relics of a lost gospel. When carefully examined the evidence adduced to prove this is often found to be exceedingly slender, as in the following instances: (1) The unsupported assertion of the gospel of Thomas that Joseph had property in Nazareth which he had inherited from his father is accepted as a genu-

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ine fragment (pp. 169–170 and 223). (2) The circumcision of Jesus in a cave is supposed to be another fragment, on the testimony of the fourth century Epiphanius and the extremely unreliable Arabic Gospel of the Infancy (pp. 128 and 215). (3) The widely attested belief of the early church that a cave was the scene of the nativity, which is claimed as a third relic or reminiscence, can be readily accounted for by oral tradition. Not one of the three early authorities cited by Dr. Resch need rest on a now vanished Gospel of the Childhood. The words of Origen clearly refer to a local tradition. The statement of the Palestinian Justin may be reasonably supposed to have had a similar origin. The protevangelium of James, although relatively old, is not a good historical source.

A new and very remarkable feature of this closing number of the "Extra-Canonical Parallels" is a bold attempt at reconstruction. Not content with trying to demonstrate the existence of the *Tol'doth Yêshua'* Dr. Resch has actually undertaken to reproduce it in Hebrew and Greek. In view of the recently recovered fragment of the original Ecclesiasticus, and the warning suggested by the comparison of that text with the efforts of scholars before it was found, the experiment is certainly hazardous. All that can be said is that if the Hebrew document existed it may have been something like what is suggested. Perhaps it would be a little less classical.

Whatever may be thought of this attempt at retranslation the arrangement of canonical and extra-canonical material in seventeen chapters with critical notes is a very useful piece of work. The study of the subject has, at any rate, been made much easier for future inquirers.

Of the many questions which are incidentally discussed one of the most interesting is the relation of the text of the Lewis codex to that of the Curetonian. Dr. Resch regards both as subsequent to the *Diatessaron*, the newly found text being, in his judgment, the latest. The Curetonian, a version of the "separate" gospels, represents a reaction against the *Diatessaron*, whilst the version preserved in the Lewis codex is strongly influenced by it. This conclusion is evidently affected by the author's theory about the character and origin of the text of codex D. As the latter is traced back, in some measure, to a revision of the gospels supposed to have been made in Pella about 140 A. D. the Curetonian, which approaches it more closely than the Lewis codex, is preferred to the latter. Those who are not convinced of the Jewish-Christian origin of many of the peculiarities of D are

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not likely to accept this reasoning. Holding this unfavorable view of the Lewis codex Dr. Resch has not done it justice. The Curetonian, however, might also have been used more freely with advantage. On page 158 the Lewis text is misquoted. It reads not "Hosea" but "Isaiah" in Matt. 2 : 15.

As this volume completes the "Extra-Canonical Parallels" a word may be expected about the significance of the whole work. Like so many German books it is too theoretical. The writer is continually posing as an advocate. The influence of his theory can be detected everywhere. It affects his estimate of authorities, and leads him to regard trifles as things of moment. Many of the so-called variants of translation to which such vast importance is ascribed are due to forgetfulness or carelessness; and others are various readings rather than relics of a lost *Urevangelium* or *Tol'doth Yēshua'*.

On the other hand, the value and interest of these wonderful volumes cannot be easily overrated. Students of the gospels owe to Dr. Resch a debt of gratitude which no words could discharge. The illustrative material which he has so patiently compiled and so clearly arranged, and the many luminous suggestions with which his pages abound constitute this noble work one of the most splendid scholarly achievements of the century.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE Press Division of the University of Chicago has republished, in pamphlet, the article in the *American Journal of Theology*, by Bernard Weiss on *The Present Status of the Inquiry Concerning the Genuineness of the Pauline Epistles.*

DR. EDGAR WHITTAKER WORK, in his *Great Moments in the Life of Paul* (Dayton, O., W. J. Shuey, 75 cents), has described in readable, though colloquial style, the important scenes in the Apostle's life. The book is not intended or fitted for students, but may be serviceable for others.

THE American Baptist Publication Society have reissued in an attractive form the well-known address of Wm. R. Williams, "The Conservative Principle in our Literature." Although fifty years have passed since the address was delivered, its classic style and earnest thought would make it of lasting value, even if many of the dangers which threatened literature half a century ago, were not still to be overcome.

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THE NEWBERRY GOSPELS

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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WHILE many persons will hardly sympathize with some of the conclusions drawn from the *Logia* of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, one important fact cannot have escaped notice: the intense and widespread interest excited by the possible discovery of new teachings from Jesus. The publication of a new treatise by Aristotle a few years ago aroused great interest, but nothing in any way comparable with that awakened by these few mutilated sentences purporting to have come from Jesus. It is not too much to say that a generation ago no such results would have followed the publication of such a collection. But men today take Jesus seriously—if such an expression may be allowed. The old supercilious belief in him as a myth or legend is disappearing, and men begin to feel that if he were in truth a real person, he and his teachings must be reckoned with.

THE INTEREST IN THE NEW LOGIA

In a word, the interest in these *Logia* is a testimony to the supremacy of the new position now held by Jesus in the world in general.

Another symptom of the same growing consideration paid Jesus and his words is to be found in fiction—not only in novels of a distinctly theological purpose, like *Robert Elsmere*, and in such historical romances as *Ben Hur* and *Quo Vadis*, but in those that attempt more or less distinctly to bring his

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teachings into society as a solvent of its many difficulties. Not long ago there appeared a very striking book, in which Jesus is represented as teaching a lost soldier the right way to settle the problems arising from the new colonization of Africa. Lately, in *The Christian*, Mr. Hall Caine endeavors within the limitations of a novelist to show how Christian life may regenerate the masses of London.

CHRIST IN FICTION

Now, while there may be difference of opinion in regard to the somewhat melodramatic monotony — to speak paradoxically — of the book, no one can fail to feel the honesty running through it all. The author is dealing with a real problem, with a real sense of the worth of the proposed remedy. Whether or not he and the other authors may have invariably interpreted Jesus' teachings correctly is not always an open question, but the fact that in such teaching and in such a character the modern novelist finds material for his work shows beyond a doubt how men of today are ready to listen to Jesus and to regard him and his teachings as matters of vital importance.

It has been proposed by a certain knight-errant of journalistic Christianity that the historical novel is the best form in which to cast a Life of Christ for today's readers. It cannot be denied that the proposal is attractive. There is no little material in the gospel which would lend itself readily to the dramatic treatment demanded by works of fiction, and the life of Jesus himself is so unusual that he might easily be made into a literary hero. In addition, the times in which he lived were such that they have always been favorites with novelists. But it is hardly possible that most Christians would approve of such a Life of Christ. It would certainly shock many of our most sacred associations either by its too generous use of imagination or by its too great realism. It would indeed be hard to find our Lord reduced to the plane of even the best characters in historical novels. He is not a hero, he is a Savior. Yet no one will deny that the great lack in studying the life of Jesus is just that which a novel aims to

THE IDEAL LIFE OF CHRIST

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supply—vividness and concreteness. We have magnificent archæological treatises, burning rhetorical portraits, noble presentations of his teachings, all but omniscient treatises on his times; but how seldom does a real character emerge from all this learning! If a Life of Christ be soberly balanced and present no ingenious heresy or half truth, its very wealth of learning hides the character of our Lord. And, after all, the main thing biblical students want is to know him and not merely to know about him. The highest function of criticism is to bring us face to face with the original material—the words of eyewitnesses—out of which to construct our character sketch. The noblest service of studies in the history of his times is to make him more distinct. And the chief aim of a Life of Christ must be neither critical, nor archæological, nor pedagogic, nor theological, but biographical—the grouping of materials in such a way that out from them shall emerge as nearly as possible the actual Jesus, the man who won his kingdom by love and who conquered hearts by his own divine personality. We cannot overlook the fact that it was this personality rather than Christ's teachings that formed the nucleus of Christianity; nor is it conceivable that a vivid portrayal of such a character would fail to attract honest men.

The Gospels as Biographies

This sort of Life of Christ every student of the New Testament not only needs, but in a greater or less degree has within his power to make for himself. The gospels are themselves so vivid and artistic that, if anyone will but study them, he will need but little further knowledge to gain a distinct portrait of Jesus. It is true many things will be more intelligible after one has a good knowledge of the life of the Jews and the customs of New Testament times in Palestine. No man can properly interpret all of the teachings of Jesus until he has such knowledge, but it is not essential to the obtaining of an idea of Christ's personality that shall be correct as far as it goes. He who really would become acquainted with that personality has but to read the gospels with historic spirit and aim, and out from them he will find growing a

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portrait so distinct and majestic as to kindle both admiration and devotion. And this portrait will be the best nucleus about which to gather information and illustration. Indeed, one might almost say that until this character has been once formed from the original materials of the gospels, it is of little worth to study externals, so easily does one become absorbed in details. The very first rule, therefore, to be given the student of the life of Christ is to get a thorough mastery of the gospels. From them one can combine a working "harmony," which, while it may leave certain questions for specialists to settle, will be of immense service. For it is one's own, and in the making of it the student will have found the real Christ of the gospels. Thereafter he will gladly complement and correct his work by the work of others. But this will be but secondary labor—the biography is his own.

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JESUS AS A THINKER.

By Ernest D. Burton,
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The gospels of the New Testament do not speak of Jesus as a thinker. They call him prophet, teacher, savior, Christ, lord; and those aspects of his nature and forms of his activity which these terms set forth evidently occupied the attention of his contemporaries and followers to the exclusion, in large part, of his character distinctly as a thinker. Yet, the gospels testify that Jesus *was* a thinker. Their record of his teaching bears most unequivocal testimony that, far from fulfilling the rabbinic ideal of a scholar, one who could receive exactly what his teacher taught and transmit it unchanged to others, Jesus constantly drew, in his teaching, not from a mind stored with the thoughts of others, but out from the depths of his own thought. Even his contemporaries perceived this and exclaimed that he taught them with authority, and not as the scribes. Subsequent generations, with clearer recognition of his intellectual character, have willingly or unwillingly enrolled him among the world's thinkers, and his right to be so counted has become increasingly clear, as by its intrinsic power his thought has more and more dominated the thinking of the world.

But the purpose of this paper is not to vindicate the conception of Jesus implied in its title, or directly to discuss the correctness or value of his judgments and teachings, but to consider the range of his thought and the characteristics of his thinking from a psychological point of view.

1. If the records of our gospels reflect correctly the range of his teaching, and if the range of his teaching indicates also the scope of his thinking, then it must be recognized that Jesus confined his thought almost exclusively to *religious and moral themes*. On questions of history, of physical or mental science,

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Jesus has nothing to say. Even upon those matters of science and philosophy which stand in closest relation with morals and religion he is silent. On the eternity of matter, the nature of creation, the origin of the human soul, and its essential immortality, the ultimate source of moral evil—on these he has left no message for men. On questions of history, including those pertaining to the history of literature, he has no distinctive message. He used the language of current opinion, but whether because he held those opinions correct, or, holding no opinion on the subject, chose to adopt the current phraseology, need not here be discussed. It is clear—and this is all that is pertinent to our present purpose—that he laid no stress on these matters, gave no indication that he had a burden of prophetic message or of personal thought on them. He was concerned to tell men about God, not the infinite and the absolute, but the Heavenly Father, the holy, the righteous, the good; about themselves, their sin, the duty of repentance, the possibility of forgiveness; their relation to God above, and to himself as God's Son and revealer; their attitude toward their fellow-men, and their conduct in relation to them; the kingdom of God already established among men, and destined to attain perfection hereafter; the vast importance of the present, the possibilities of eternal blessedness and irreparable loss. These are the themes of his discourse; if his words reflect his thought, these are the central themes of his thinking.

But let not this be understood as an assertion that the horizon of Jesus' thought was narrow, or his intellectual vision short. His thinking was intensive rather than discursive, remarkable rather for profound insight into the matters with which he dealt than for the great variety of them. Yet, this very limitation of his thought was due, we are led to believe, to his recognition of the central significance of those matters on which he chose to speak. Certain it is, at least, that the themes of his discourse are those which have proved themselves of most permanent interest and of most fundamental importance to mankind, and that his treatment of these was at the same time profound and broad. Let his conception of the kingdom of God serve as a

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single illustration. The term no doubt he found ready-made to his hand, but representing in the mind of his contemporaries a conception neither very broad nor very elevated. By the alchemy of his thought he purified it of its militarism and its materialism, made it centrally religious and ethical, and at the same time most broadly human, embracing all human conduct and relationships; he broke down its bounds of nationalism and made it world-wide in its scope; and, by these enlargements and elevations of the conception, justified and clarified the belief in its unending perpetuity. Alexander dreamed of world-wide empire; Plato had his conception of the ideal state; More, and multitudes of social philosophers and dreamers after him, have pictured their utopias. But Jesus' conception of the kingdom of God, set forth in a few parables and pregnant sentences, remains at once the most perfect, the most comprehensive, the most ideal, and the most practical conception of an order of human society that human words have yet expressed.

2. The thinking of Jesus was *penetrative and germinal* rather than systematic; dealt with central and regulative principles rather than with the construction of a system of thought. There have been among the thinkers of the past men of at least two distinguishable types of mind—the poetic or prophetic, and the organizing or scholastic. The thinkers of the former class have sought above all things to grasp and to communicate certain central, germinal principles; the elaboration of a system of thought which should embody, harmonize, and apply these principles has never been their ambition. Such, broadly speaking, were Socrates among the ancients and Emerson among the moderns. Other minds, not less great in their own way, have been moved by the organizing impulse; to them a truth has been but half a truth until they have found its relation to other truth, and woven it into their system. Such, in a measure, was Aristotle; such certainly have been many of our modern theologians. There can be no question to which class Jesus belongs. He was not a schoolman, but a prophet; not a system-maker, but a thinker, a seer. He elaborated no system of morals, of theology, or of worship. Neither the mutual adjust-

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ments of truths to one another, nor even the exact and formal definition of them, seem to have been matters of great moment to him. Those realms where truths meet and seemingly limit one another, those frontiers which are the delight of the casuist and the speculative theologian, seem to have had no attraction for him. With a strong preference — characteristic of the prophet — for concrete rather than abstract statement, with a neglect of those qualifications and caveats with which the schoolman seeks after exactness, he put forth his teachings in the form of rules of action or bold figures of speech, careless, apparently, that the superficial hearer would be certain to mistake shell for kernel, and stumble at the impossibility of literal obedience, and that the system-maker would find certain great areas unfilled, and others apparently occupied with contradictory propositions. The parable, with its one central truth, ignoring alike all other truths and the problem of applying this one, and exposed to the constant danger of over-interpretation; the unqualified command, stumbling-block to literalists ever since; the striking paradox; the bold figure certain to create perplexity, but certain for this very reason to be remembered — these are the favorite forms of Jesus' speech. Elaborated discourse, closely reasoned and moving on from step to step with the exactness and dullness of a logician — he is never represented as speaking after this fashion. If his speech reflects his thought, it shows, not indeed that he had never thought out the applications of his principles to conduct — his life shows that he had — still less that he had not unified the relatively central principles which lay back of his aphorisms in those still more ultimate — there is clear evidence that he had done this also — but that he cared far more for central principles than for the adjustment of them to one another or the organization of them into a system.

Here again the conception of the kingdom furnishes a pertinent illustration. Central to all his teaching as this thought is, there is nowhere in his teaching so much as an outline sketch of it as a whole. Its strategetic points, so to speak, are seized, and the real limits of the kingdom and its essential nature thus fixed. But this is all. The early church scarcely recognized the breadth

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of the conception itself or the determinative character of the points fixed by Jesus. Mere exegesis and reflection have always stumbled at the attempt to fill in the details; it is preëminently true here that the willingness to do and even the actual attempt to do are the indispensable conditions of a practical interpretation of the teaching. But each honest attempt to realize in action the ideal of Jesus, only pregnantly set forth in his words, has both justified the conception itself and opened the way to another advance step in its interpretation.

3. Jesus was thoroughly *independent* in his thinking. Through and through conservatism is a comparatively easy position to maintain. Out and out radicalism is scarcely more difficult when once the mind is made up to break with the past and take the cold plunge into the sea of negations. Genuine independence is possible only to a great mind. Jesus did his work as a public teacher when the minds of men in Palestine were for the most part held in the grip of a hard and dead traditionalism. The "dead hand" of a stupid, unspiritual, unintellectual traditionalism was upon the whole generation, stifling thought and aspiration. In such a time Jesus stood forth, not to denounce and deny all that traditionalism stood for, not to accept and teach it, but with deep discrimination to reaffirm what his clear vision saw to be true, to deny what he saw to be false, to give men a wholly new point of view from which to try both old and new. He was not, indeed, alone in his opposition to the Pharisaic traditionalism. Sadducees and Essenes, too, were dissenters from the dominant school of thought. But toward them also he assumed the same independence of position which he took toward Phariseeism. Less in sympathy with Sadduceeism than even with Phariseeism, more in agreement with Essenism than with either, he was neither Pharisee, Sadducee, nor Essene, neither anti-Pharisee, anti-Sadducee, anti-Essene, nor even eclectic. With the calmness of absolute independence, and of absolute certainty, he stood alone and spoke to men from the depth of his own perceptions and convictions.

But the independence of Jesus was not an independence of his contemporaries only. It was an independence of his prede-

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cessors in prophetic office also. Jesus assumes a position, not above Phariseeism and Sadduceeism and Essenism only, but above the prophets and law-givers of the Old Testament also. This is by no means to say—what would be very far from true—that he placed the Old Testament on the same level with Phariseeism. On the contrary, while he condemned Phariseeism as hollow at heart and fair only on the outside, he pronounced the morals and religion of the Old Testament to be fundamentally and essentially right and permanent. "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets. I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplished." Yet, in this very act of setting the seal of his approval upon the Old Testament, he assumes the position of superiority to it. He speaks, not as one who, being subject to the Old Testament, is bound to accept and repeat its teachings, whatever they may be, but as one who, being competent to pass judgment on it, pronounces it good. And this attitude is made still clearer by the way in which he deals with the specific commandments of the Old Testament. Alike in respect to such moral matters as retaliation and resistance, oaths and truthfulness, and the perpetuity of the marriage bond, and such external matters as fasting, ceremonial cleanness, and the Sabbath, he takes a different position from that which is maintained in some parts of the Old Testament. Though in all these matters dealing directly with the current Pharisaic teaching—apparently he never discussed historical questions as such, not even the question whether the teachings of the Old Testament were authoritative for their own time—he yet corrected these current opinions, not by appeal to the Old Testament as final authority, but, making himself the authority, laid down principles which went deeper than a revision or abolition of the Pharisaic teachings, and carried with them a revision of the Old Testament statutes themselves. The Christian church long ago surrendered circumcision, because the apostle Paul emphatically and explicitly rejected it. It has, theoretically at least, accepted the teaching of Jesus concerning divorce, because

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of like explicitness of statement. It has been far less consistent and unanimous in the acceptance of the teaching of Christ concerning some other matters, such, for example, as fasting and the Sabbath, because that which lies upon the surface is only a criticism of Phariseeism; and it has often most astonishingly failed to perceive the principle which underlay Christ's teaching on all these matters, and has been singularly slow to recognize the attitude which in his treatment of these matters Jesus assumes toward the Old Testament as such. The fact that, while Jesus emphatically affirms the authority and perpetuity of the Old Testament, he yet, in close connection with such affirmation, lays down principles which require a revision or abolition of Old Testament statutes is doubly significant. It shows—what indeed is implied in his summation of the law and prophets of the Old Testament in its one central ethical principle of love (Matt. 7:12; 22:40)—that his approval is of the ethical principles which pervade and dominate the Old Testament, not of all its detailed statutes, and, at the same time, that alike in approval and in criticism he did not put himself in intellectual subjection to the law, bound to teach only in consistency with it, but assumed the position of one who, possessing a more ultimate standard of truth and a more perfect knowledge of the mind of God than the prophets of old, stood above them, and passed judgment on their teachings.

4. The thinking of Jesus was eminently *positive and constructive*. As has already been intimated, his thinking was revolutionary in a sense. It contained the germs of truth which were destined in their development to bring about such a transfer of emphasis, even as compared with that of the religion of the Old Testament, as would abolish religious institutions that had stood for centuries. It is not less true that his clear enunciation of principles was to work a change scarcely less than revolutionary in the world's conception of the nature of religion and of morality. Yet the thinking of Jesus is not negative, and not iconoclastic. He does not batter down institutions or systems of thought. He plants a germ of truth which is destined by its positive character to undermine and overthrow both. But it is

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to do this by creating new thought and new institutions. And Jesus clearly recognized that this process was to be slow and long, and that meantime men cannot be left without shelter or anchorage. He compared his teaching to the seed, the harvest from which cannot be gathered till the consummation of the age, to the leaven that works in the lump till the whole is leavened. He opposed the teaching as well as the practice of the Pharisees. Yet at the close of his ministry he bade men not to break with Phariseeism (Matt. 23: 1, 2). Recognizing at the same time the essential vices of the teaching of the Pharisees, and their position as in fact and of necessity the leaders of the people, clearly perceiving both the ultimate destiny of his own teaching to undermine and displace that of the scribes, and the necessity that his teaching, expressed almost entirely in germ and principle only, should overthrow Phariseeism only as it should replace it by nobler ethics and purer religion and better institutions, he chose to leave Phariseeism in outward possession of the field rather than to precipitate intellectual and moral anarchy by out-and-out iconoclasm. Toward the Old Testament and those Jewish institutions which embodied its legislation he was, of course, far more conservative. He knew that one greater than the temple had come, and predicted the overthrow of the temple and its ritual; but he never attacked temple worship, and even indignantly rebuked the desecration of its courts. He taught principles which would abolish fasting as prescribed by the law, the distinction of clean and unclean, and the sanctity of places, and which involved a serious modification of the Sabbath idea. But he laid emphasis, not on these things, but on the authority of the Old Testament and the permanence of its ethics and religion. He was destined to increase and could afford to wait. He was a revolutionist, but not an anarchist, the boldest type of a reformer and the purest type of a conservative.

5. But the most fundamental characteristic of Jesus' thinking remains to be stated. That which more than all else determines the character of his thought is the nature of the basis on which it rests. Its constant and final appeal is to *reality*. Clear in statement, so translucent as to seem to the not too attentive

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reader simple, if not even superficial, totally devoid of that learned and labored obscurity which characterizes the utterances of so many men of philosophical mind, the thought of Jesus, even upon the simplest themes, is marked above everything else by the fact that it never lingers upon the surface, never deals with the externals and accidental details, but with steadfast aim penetrates at once to the heart of the matter.

This penetrative character of Jesus' thought is beautifully illustrated in his interpretation of the Old Testament. Take, for example, his answer to the first of the three recorded wilderness temptations. It had been suggested to him that he should convert the stones into bread, with the insinuation that not to do it was to confess that he was not God's son. But Jesus answered: "It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.'" In other words, he denied that bread was indispensable to him or necessary as evidence of his sonship, brushed aside the temptation to doubt God's love or to disobey his will by the assertion of a faith which needed no new evidence to support it, and calmly waited God's time to supply his need. Now this, if not the meaning that lies upon the surface of the Old Testament passage (Deut. 8 : 3), is the true meaning and the deepest meaning of it. Moses is speaking to the children of Israel concerning the meaning and purpose of their experience in the wilderness: "And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldst keep his commandments or no. And he humbled thee and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know, that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread alone, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." The purpose of the wilderness experience, in which the Israelites were cut off from the ordinary sources of supply, is affirmed to have been to lift their thought from material things to God—to lead them to put their trust, not in nature, but in the God who, in nature, is also above nature. Superficial

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thought might have drawn from the passage a conclusion exactly the opposite of that which Jesus drew. One might have said, When the children of Israel in the wilderness lacked ordinary bread, God gave them bread miraculously. Surely, when the Son of God is hungry in the wilderness, beyond the reach of ordinary food, he may by miraculous power supply himself with bread. But Jesus does not so reason. Passing by any contrast between ordinary and extraordinary food supply, he finds in the passage the deeper teaching that man is always to wait on God and count nothing indispensable but obedient trust in him.

Or take, again, his answer to the Sadducees concerning the resurrection: "But as touching the dead that they are raised, have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the bush, how God spake unto him, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead but of the living: ye do greatly err." Now it must undoubtedly be recognized that the Old Testament passage furnishes no evidence that the words as originally uttered either conveyed or were intended to convey any thought concerning immortality. They are uttered to Moses — and emphasized by being four times repeated — on the occasion of his commission by God to become the leader and deliverer of Israel. Their evident intent is to express two ideas: first, the fact that God had entered into covenant relation with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and, second, that he who then covenanted with the patriarchs was a God that changed not, but remembered and kept the covenant that he had made. The immediate application of these truths is to the effect that in the first place Moses, and after him the people, might trust without doubt in the God of their fathers. But these same ideas are capable of another application. In that God entered into covenant relation with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he declared them to be the objects of his loving regard. In that he declared that he was a God that changes not, he affirmed that he could never cease to love those of whom he said, "I am their God." But if so, then it is impossible that these men should cease to be. Change in the form of their existence may ensue, but it can never be that the

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personal objects of the Almighty God's unchanging love can pass out into non-existence. God's love is for those whom he loves, whom he has taken into that covenant relation with himself which is expressed in the words, "I am your God," the guarantee of immortality — even more, of eternal life. This argument does not prove the essential immortality of the human soul as human. It does not prove a bodily resurrection. But it does prove — it is the most solid and substantial argument that can possibly be advanced for proving — the immortality of the righteous. And this was essentially the question then under dispute. The Sadducees denied the resurrection, not because they stumbled at the materialism involved in a bodily resurrection, but because of the anti-materialism involved in the doctrine of the immortality of the righteous. Jesus answered them, not by a philosophical argument to prove the essential immortality of the human soul, but by a moral argument based on the Old Testament conception, which he accepted, of the moral character of God. He found this truth expressed in a passage which, though it had nothing directly to say concerning immortality, really affirmed that truth concerning God which forms the most solid ground of hope for a life to come.

But is Jesus' ultimate reason for accepting and teaching any doctrine the fact that it is found in the Old Testament? And is his profundity of thought manifested simply in his interpretation of the Old Testament? If it were so, then we should have to say, not that his ultimate appeal was to the reality of things, but to the authority of the Old Testament; and the question would still remain on what ground he rested this authority. But this is not the case. Jesus is indeed the very ideal of an interpreter. But just because he is this, he is also critic; and because he is far more than either interpreter or critic in the literary sense, he does not stop with the Old Testament, but, alike in approving and amending it, he makes his ultimate appeal to the very nature of things — to ultimate reality. It was said above that he was independent even of the Old Testament. It remains to show that, in assuming this position of independence, his standard of judgment was not some other literature or philoso-

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phy, but things as they are — the world as the revelation of divine thought, divine thought as directly perceived by him. Let his discussion of clean and unclean meats serve as an illustration. He disregarded the Pharisaic tradition and practice concerning the washing of hands before meals. Criticised for it, he did not appeal to the Old Testament for justification of his conduct, though this would have sustained him so far as the particular matter in hand was concerned. He did not quote any other authority, nor rest it upon his own personal dictum. He appealed to the very nature of man and of moral action. Not the material, clean or unclean, which, being on a man's hands as he eats, enters into the stomach, can affect his moral character. The two are in different realms, and neither if he eat is the worse, nor if he eat not is he the better. Moral character is the product of moral action. What proceeds from a man — this alone defiles him. The nature of man, the nature of morality — these are the foundations of his argument. He who would assail it must do so on the basis of a truer knowledge of ultimate realities. No appeal to teacher or literature will suffice. Below Phariseeism, below the Old Testament ritual itself, down to the ultimate nature of things, Jesus carries his argument. It is doubtful whether anyone perceived how much it meant at the time, but by the time our gospel was written our evangelist perceived it, and added the words " [This he said], making all meats clean.'

Christ's treatment of marriage, fasting, and the Sabbath furnishes other instructive illustrations of this characteristic of his teaching and thinking. But space must not be taken to set them forth in detail. It would be particularly instructive to examine his utterances concerning his Messiahship and mission. But this topic is too large for a paragraph; it calls for a paper by itself.

6. But now it must be asked, How did Jesus know the ultimate nature of things? And with this question we push our inquiry concerning his character as a thinker to the farthest point that it can reach. How did he know that material things do not defile the soul by their touch? How was he able to say that Gen. 2:24 rather than Deut. 24:1 expresses the funda-

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mental and permanent law of marriage? How had he learned that man's highest duty toward God is loving trust? How did he know that God is love, and that love sums up the law for man? Such knowledge he constantly claimed by implication and assertion. On what did he base that claim? For surely his own testimony must furnish us our most certain, if not our only, answer. And this answer is clear. He bases his claim to knowledge on his *relation to God.* "He that sent me is true; and the things which I heard from him, these speak I unto the world. . . . . I do nothing of myself, but as the Father sent me I speak these things, and he that sent me is with me; he hath not left me alone; for I do always the things that are pleasing to him" (John 8:26–30). "The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth his works" (John 14:10). Perfect harmony with God, perfect union with God, this, he claimed, gave to him knowledge alike of God and of man. And they who beheld his glory were persuaded, both that he truly declared God unto them, and that he knew perfectly what was in man. And if it be given to men whose sight, though clouded by sin, is yet not utterly destroyed, to try by their imperfect vision the utterances of one who claims to speak as Jesus claimed that he spoke—then the clearest moral vision of nineteen centuries may be appealed to substantiate the claim of Jesus to know in the realm of morals and religion the ultimate reality of all things that are. And if the world's experience is valid testimony to the nature of God and man, then God himself has been through centuries of history attesting the truth of Christ's thoughts and of his claim to know things as they are.

It is this characteristic of Jesus, his direct perception of truth by perfect insight, that takes away from his discourse everything that appears like inductive reasoning. For the most part he does not argue, he simply declares. And when he argues, as, for example, in reference to the resurrection and the casting out of demons, his reasoning is wholly deductive. In this latter day we exalt the value of inductive reasoning; and, doubtless, for most men and in most realms of study it is the safest method of

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reasoning. But it ought not to be forgotten that in the realm of morals and religion there is for him who possesses the power a more direct and a more sure method of reaching the truth. Even for his disciples Jesus taught that a right state of heart, and a right moral attitude toward himself and toward truth, would give insight into truth (Matt. 11:25ff.; John 7:16f., 8:31f., 47). But he himself must forever remain the clear and shining example of possession of truth by insight.

If indeed the term thinker be taken in the narrower sense of reasoner—one who reaches conclusions by an articulated course of thought involving temporary uncertainty and conflict prolonged and sometimes painful, then it must be said that only to a limited degree does the term thinker apply to Jesus at all. The gospels seem to show that he was not altogether lifted above even such exigencies of human nature (John 12:27f.; Matt. 26:39, 42). Yet this is not the marked characteristic of Jesus' thinking. And the title of thinker must be applied to him in the broad and true sense of the word—a man of thought, of perception, of insight. Because he is such; because insight, when it is true, is the highest form of thought; because the world and the church in the exercise of their lesser power of insight, following him afar off, penetrating with slow and halting step into the depths of his thought and into the meaning of the world, entering after him into fellowship with God, and testing his categorical assertions by centuries of experience, find his thought ever more clearly verifying itself as true, we accept him today, not only as Lord and Christ, to whom we owe the allegiance of our wills, but as first among the thinkers of the world, teacher of all teachers, leader of the world's best thought.

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FROM JENIN TO NAZARETH.

II. GADARA AND THE JORDAN VALLEY.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
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EARLY in the morning we left Beisan, equipped for the first time with an armed escort—one man with a borrowed shotgun. We forded the Jalud, as the ancient bridge was out of repair, and followed one of the numerous irrigation trenches northward toward Jisr Mejamia, the old bridge that spans the Jordan half way between Beisan and the Sea of Galilee. It was a delightful morning, with none of the fierce heat that had hung over the Jordan valley by Jericho a few days previous. On both sides of the valley the hills were quite free from mist, and their scarred sides could be seen with all that distinctness that makes distances in Palestine appear so deceptive. The road was by no means deserted, and the travelers by no means of a single sort. Now it was a group of Turkish officials out for the tax-gathering; now a group of Arabs, the men on donkeys and the women walking; now a caravan of thirty camels on the way to Haifa; now a Bedouin with a spear ten feet long; now a humbler traveler on foot, armed only with his heavy club; now a couple of French priests on the way from Tiberias to Jerusalem. Villages there were none, and, except for the black tents of the Bedouin and an occasional hut that served at once as mill and home, there were no traces of inhabitants. Yet the land was tolerably tilled, and the rich fields of lentils and grain that broke the plain up into a great checkerboard showed clearly enough what might be the wealth of the country under another and better government. The curse of the present administration is everywhere to be seen. "The money is as bad as the government" is the popular condemnation of two as badly disarranged affairs as

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the world can boast. Taxes are so oppressive, and the soldiers who collect them so unrestrained, that the wretches who till the ground are repeatedly in despair. In some cases they have been known to cut down their few olive trees that they might find relief from the publican in absolute but independent beggary. The entire upper end of the Jordan valley is the property of one man. On what terms he rents it out it was not possible to learn, but probably upon a system of shares, according to which he would receive one-third of the produce, out of which he would pay the land tax. At least this is the most common arrangement in the region around Baalbek.

All the roads of the region converge to the Jisr Mejamia, a bridge that most likely was originally Roman, although it has been largely rebuilt by the Arabs. A few centuries since there must have been considerable traffic passing over it, for at its western end there are the remains of a large khan, the gateway of which is in tolerable preservation and must originally have been of some architectural beauty. The bridge itself, like others in the region, is a series of steps carried upon a succession of arches, the middle one of which is of good width. It does not cross the river directly, but in the middle bends slightly to the north. The Jordan at this point is very rapid, though shallow, and above the bridge there is a succession of miniature waterfalls. Notwithstanding the place is very lonely, there was a little group of Bedouin children, playing a game that might have been ball or might have been quoits, on the eastern bank of the river, although there was no hut or encampment to be seen in the vicinity.

JISR MEJAMIA

A somewhat curious testimony to the continued importance of the bridge as the natural connecting point of the two regions on the opposite sides of Jordan is the coincidence that the pro-

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posed railway from Haifa to Damascus will cross the Jordan at this point, and that the crusaders thought to command the roads that must always have converged here by the great castle of Belvoir, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the edge of the western hills, where they encircle the little village of Kôbeb el-Hawa. When Romans, crusaders, Arabs, and railway engineers unite upon the same spot, one may be certain that the coincidence is not accidental. The country here is not altogether safe, and even the wandering fellaheen dislike to cross the bridge alone. But caravans are not infrequent, and there were few travelers of a suspicious appearance. The road, however, as it leaves the bridge, is so hidden in the wady that it would not be at all surprising if there were some ground for the prevalent apprehension.

COLUMNS OF TEMPLE

On the east of Jordan the valley is hardly as well cultivated as on the west, and the Bedouin tents were more frequent. Indeed, they stretched at short intervals for miles along the edge of the great rolling plain. Interspersed among them were fields of wheat and lentils, with here and there a tree or clump of bushes. The Bedouin themselves seemed indifferent to all that passed by them, and even the children were content to let a European pass ungreeted. Whether such indifference was due to their having been unspoiled by the presence of tourists, or was simply the result of tribal peculiarities, it would be hard to say. But, speaking generally, the Bedouin are not aggressive in their hospitality to those who do not make the first advances in either greeting one of the tribe or visiting the encampment.

So steep and difficult are the hills beyond Jordan that is by no means easy for camp equipage to mount them, and consequently the tents were pitched at Esh Shuni, at the junction of Wady Arab with the Jordan valley, at the foot of the hill on

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which is a little town, near the holy place of Shekh Máad. It was a charming spot, as much out of the life of the nineteenth century as it was in the days of Abraham. In the beautifully clear brook that flowed within half a stone's throw of the tents, close to a bit of a buttress of a Roman bridge, was a herd of black cattle, quite indifferent to all things about them, except when a couple of young bulls thought it necessary to decide some question of honor in a noiseless and well-regulated combat. As the evening drew on, the cattle were silently driven off; a flock of sheep came down from the hills and crossed the brook in single file; the women from the neighboring huts came to fill their water bags; a group of Arab travelers stopped to perform their evening ablution and to say their prayers; a couple of mounted Turkish soldiers forded the brook on the way to some village up Wady Arab, barely stopping to ask if they were wanted as guards; one by one the Arab herdsmen dropped in to squat in silence by the tent door staring at the unaccustomed visitors, and share in the expected hospitality, until at last the sun disappeared behind the ruins of the old crusaders' castle of Belvoir, upon the top of the hills the other side of Jordan, bringing into bold relief its ruined walls and huge moats. Then, as it grew dusky, the Arab women in the tents out on the great plain began their shrill chant for the dance; the jackals and village dogs began that unearthly battle they have waged for millennia and in which, to judge from the fearful yells, the hosts of hell take part; and the talk at the tent door grew more animated as the east and west of the little land exchanged adventures. But, as the moon came up over the mountains, the chanting and the howling and the talking slowly died away, and, after a couple of revolver shots had warned off possible marauders, the strange land sank into that perfect stillness that

THE PLATEAU OF UMKEIS

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hangs alone over those places that once were full of life and now are desolate.

Um keis lies in the midst of a broad plateau, 1200 feet above the sea, or about 1800 feet above the Jordan valley. The path to it from Esh Shuni is but little used, and our horses had no easy work carrying us to the top of the hill. As we reached the summit, there stretched out to the east and south the noble highlands of the Jaulan, with its deep, steep valleys and its rich plateaus, sometimes wooded and sometimes tilled. The plateau of Um keis itself is very level, perhaps five miles in diameter, and is very thoroughly cultivated. In April the fellaheen were plowing, and the entire southern half of the plateau was alive with men, women, and oxen. The visible ruins of the city Pompey and Herod built are spread over a considerably smaller area, although we came across a ruined column, apparently marking the ruins of some temple, something like an hour before we reached Um keis itself.

THE COLONNADED STREET

The city of Gadara, "fond of the Muses," as a newly discovered tombstone describes it, was most beautifully situated. From the crest of the steep hill that separates Wady Arab and the Yarmuk it extended both upward upon the higher hill to the east, where was probably the station for the Roman garrison, and also out upon the broad plateau above the Jordan. On whichever side one looks the view is exquisite. To the east and the south are the Jaulan and the Jordan valley, dipping away into the

MONOLITH

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purple haze of the Dead Sea; to the west are the hills of Galilee, plunging grandly into the valley; to the northeast, almost at one's feet, lying like a blue harp in the midst of its hills, is the Sea of Galilee, with the Jordan winding out of it, like — to keep the beautiful Hebrew figure — a broken harp string. In the valley to the north, just below one, is the cañon of the Yarmuk, with the couple of huts that mark the hot springs. In April the coloring is beautiful beyond description, and one can understand easily how the city upon such a height became the favorite of Græco-Roman colonists.

PAVEMENT OF STREET

It is on the plateau that, with the exception of the two theaters and the tombs, the chief ruins are to be found. These stretch along each side of an ancient Roman street, from fourteen feet eight inches to sixteen feet eight inches in width, and consist entirely of limestone and basalt blocks, some of considerable size. One block of basalt lying in the grass, apparently the base of an altar or pillar, was beautifully carved. The street runs west from the theaters and was apparently colonnaded, since for half a mile or more it is lined on each side by broken pillars, many of them with Corinthian capitals. This road, being doubtless the direct route between Beisan and Damascus, was carefully paved with blocks of basalt running both diagonally and at right angles with the axis of the street, and one can trace the ruts made by the wheels of the narrow chariots as distinctly as in Pompeii. At its western end it apparently was flanked by tombs, for a

ORNAMENTED BASE

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number of huge basalt sarcophagi are to be found there, some of them standing on end, and some being used by the Arabs as receptacles for grain. One heap of ruins far out in the field seemed to be those of a temple but they were so shapeless as to be very uncertainly identified. To the east of these there is a stretch of ruins apparently lying between this main street and another to the north. These, at first glance, seem to be those of a market, but, as they are divided by what looks like cross streets, they may perhaps mark the site of some of the dwelling houses, or suburban villas after the Roman style, with which Josephus says Gadara was surrounded. To the north of this main street must have stood one or more large temples, to judge from the extensive ruins, built in part upon a terrace of masonry, so narrow is the neck of land connecting the plateau with the high hills to the east. On the south of this street are the ruins of what was perhaps a Christian basilica, near which lie some large blocks of stone, some with considerable architectural ornamentation.

STANDING SARCOPHAGUS

Following along the street eastward one comes to the larger of the two theaters. It is charmingly situated on the side of the hill, apparently like the other theater and the little military amphitheater in Rome, having been incorporated in the city wall. It looks eastward over the Wady Arab to the Jordan valley, while from its upper tiers of seats there is a beautiful outlook as well over the Yarmuk, to the Sea of Galilee, and thence to Hermon. It is in remarkably good preservation, the fifteen rows of semi-

RUINS OF BASILICA

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circular seats, carefully cut from basalt, being preserved, though some of them have been somewhat moved horizontally, as if by earthquake. The proscenium itself, which must have been nearly 175 feet in length, is in ruins, and the orchestra is used as a garden, but the vaulted entrances are mostly in good condition, and even the wall that held the upper seats is preserved, rising thirty-five feet above the ground, though much less above the débris now piled upon it on the outside. The upper seats are carried upon a beautifully built, semicircular vault, into which the entrances run.

WESTERN THEATER

Above this western theater is a hill, upon which is built a portion of the miserable village of Um keis. The inhabitants are enlarging the place by the building of a khan, or some similar building, of considerable size, the materials for which they are obtaining from the neighboring ruins. The northern and eastern sides of the hill are precipitous, and it would seem as if the ancient city wall ran along its edge. Incorporated in the eastern wall is the second and smaller theater. This looks to the north, and would be especially usable in hot weather. It is only 148 feet in width, and is in much poorer repair than its larger companion, the rows of seats being but imperfectly preserved, and then only when cut from the hill itself. A somewhat curious feature of this theater is the remains of a gateway, apparently opening upon the proscenium. The orchestra is full of rubbish. The seats rise very steeply, and in their present condition it is

REAR WALL OF WESTERN THEATER

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something of a task to clamber over them. A remarkable characteristic of this theater is the fact that not only are many of the seats cut from the living rock, but semicircular passageways, or lobbies, have been excavated under them. They are carefully faced with basalt masonry at the entrance, and sometimes one side is also of masonry, but most of the rock was left rough, without ever having been faced. The vaulted entrances to the theater are well preserved, though now largely filled with rubbish.

SMALLER THEATER

In the valley below the theater a great number of sarcophagi, more or less ornamented, are lying about, and there is also a number of tombs cut in the rock, some of them with stone doors with carved panels and locks. This must have been the cemetery of the city. Indeed, the entire region abounds in caves, among which the natives still find antiquities. One man offered for sale at what seemed an exorbitant price a beautifully cut intaglio, representing two cupids boxing, and in one of the huts a woman had on sale a basalt bust, just discovered, representing an elderly man with bald head and full, well-trimmed beard.

Still further to the east are the remains of an ancient aque duct, probably of Roman workmanship, which supplied the city with water. Its course has been traced as far as Sunamein in the Hauran, and runs parallel with a Roman road that Schumacher thinks might easily be made serviceable for wheeled vehicles.

The path from Um keis down into the valley of the Yarmuk follows the course of an old Roman road, but is none the less steep. It was doubtless this road the Gadarenes used in visiting the hot springs of Amatha, or El Hammi, as they are now called, in the valley. It is about an hour between the two places, and the ford at Yarmuk is by no means easy to find. Indeed, it was only by virtue of a Bedouin's unaccustomed

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enterprise that our party was kept from disaster. As it was, as we forded the river opposite an Arab mill turned by the overflow of a hot spring, the water reached the saddle.

FORDING THE YARMUK

The valley at this point is surrounded by high hills and is covered with luxuriant vegetation. The springs are four in number and of considerable size. That now covered with a rude building is perhaps thirty-five feet in diameter. The water bubbles up from the earth at a great number of places, and is too hot to be comfortable. It is, however, conducted into a sort of pool, in which the Arabs bathe. The water is very strongly sulphurous and is regarded as possessing great medicinal qualities. Indeed, the place might easily be made into a popular watering place, and, if the railway between Haifa and the Hauran is ever built, may very likely become such. In spring and early summer great numbers of invalids gather here, living in the open air. In Roman times these springs were noted, and the ruins in the vicinity show that the bathing establishment was built in the usual scale of magnificence that characterized Roman baths. Most of these ruins are covered by vegetation, but the ruins of vaulted chambers are still to be seen, and Merrill found there also a row of basalt seats that probably belonged to the bath.

YARMUK VALLEY LOOKING EAST

From the hot springs the path again follows a Roman road, splendidly engineered, high up upon the side of the cañon through which the Yarmuk has forced itself. The scenery here is among the finest in Palestine, surpassing in beauty and

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grandeur even Wady Kelt, though not in wildness. The road is perhaps 300 feet directly above the river, beyond which other cliffs and mountains rise. The country east of Jordan is also better wooded than that on the west, and the large oaks and palms of the valley give it a varied character the valleys of both Judea and Samaria lack. In fact, any man who thinks of Palestine as a land barren and unfruitful need only look down from these heights upon the course of the Yarmuk and the Jordan to be undeceived.

YARMUK VALLEY LOOKING WEST

In going from El Hammi to Nazareth—a journey of twelve or fourteen hours—one crosses the upper Jordan valley straight to the little town of Tell Semak, and thence to the spot where the Jordan emerges from the lake. At this point the river, though by no means large or quiet, is yet deeper and less rapid than further south, and the Arabs maintain a ferry in the shape of a large row boat. Into it they crowd men, baggage, and small animals like donkeys and calves, while the horses are obliged to swim as best they can as they are dragged along by their heads. The passage of Jordan is no unexciting thing with a couple of horses turning summersaults by and under the boat, and it would be surprising if some casualities might not have to be reported some day. It is a commentary on the way affairs are allowed to be administered in the unhappy country that only a short distance down the Jordan are the remains of ancient bridges that might be utilized with a little difficulty, thus allowing traffic to pass along the old Roman routes.

THE JORDAN FERRY

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In the back water of the Jordan, which extends over a considerable area to the west of the southern end of the lake, a few nearly naked fishermen were wading about up to their hips in the great pool, throwing their nets ahead of them wherever the vegetation permitted a space of clear water. As the sun was going down, it would seem as if they were to fish, as their fellow-toilers on the lake itself, by night.

HORSES SWIMMING THE JORDAN

The path along the Jordan is much obstructed by the tall grass, and often muddy; yet the country is wonderfully fertile and tolerably well tilled. Near the picturesquely situated mud town of Abediyeh there seems to be a ford less difficult than that at Tel Semak. Above the ford are the ruins of the bridge already mentioned, while below the river is very rapid and tortuous, though flowing between banks of mud. From this point the road leads up the attractive Wady Faghas to Khan el Tujjai, where are ruins of two fine khans, near which are a beautiful terebinth and good water. For some distance the path leads through considerable groves of olive and other trees; but as the hills about Nazareth are reached the trees disappear, and one comes again to the denuded grassland so characteristic of western Palestine. This method of approach to Nazareth has the advantage not only of the best view possible of Tabor, but also of coming upon the city from above. As one comes there from the center of Græco-Roman life to look down into the great amphitheater of hills in which the attractive little town lies, he is impressed with the close proximity in which Jesus lived to the great world movements of his day. This, one feels, is no mere isolated town that lies by the side of the great roads of the Decapolis and Syria, but rather barely set one side in safe, yet not exclusive, seclusion, whose inhabitants might at any moment join in the traffic of the world if once they climbed the

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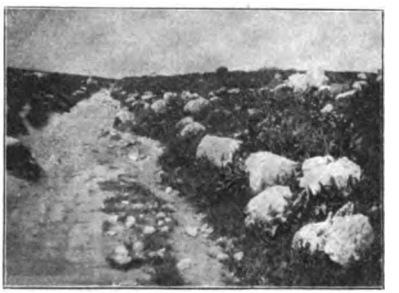
hills which lie about it. Thus close to Jewish and to Roman life it was a proper place for the upbringing of a Jewish lad who should be the world's Savior.



RUINS OF STREET AND COLUMNS

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ISRAEL'S PLACE IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

By Rev. Professor George H. Schodde, Ph.D.,
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In the average work on general history there is assigned to Israel anything but a position of prominence. The tendency has been rather to exclude this people from the leading history-making nations of the earth and to confine its mission in the ups and downs of the human race to the sphere of "sacred" history. This has been done largely under the influence of the older canons of historiography, according to which political and military upheavals in the records of nations were regarded as the chief factors and forces in their development, and accordingly legitimately also the prime data with which history was called upon to deal. The fact that data of this kind, and not the material necessary for the construction of a philosophic scheme of history, formed almost entirely the contents of the oldest sources in this department of research made such a procedure the most natural thing in the world. Only in the more thorough universal histories of recent decades, such as Ranke's, has Israel received anything like the consideration it deserves in the general development of the past.

A nation is historic to just that degree and extent to which it supplies permanent factors and agencies in the unfolding of human activity and thought in later ages. Judged by this canon Israel is entitled to a leading position among the nations of antiquity, probably the most prominent. There have been many powerful nations of the past, exceeding in military strength and political power a thousandfold the people of Israel; yet in the composite of ideas and ideals that make up modern life no elements can be traced back to these, and accordingly no concern above that of natural interest and curiosity is attached to their fate. Not a few powerful nations of antiquity, of whose thought

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and life we are reasonably well informed, have practically contributed little or nothing to the forces that make up modern civilization. The records of the Egyptians are exceedingly interesting, and in many respects the inscriptions, papyrus finds, etc., that the land of the Pharaohs has in recent decades been so liberally showering upon the savant and the student are very instructive; yet the literature, the theology and religion, the type of civilization, the peculiar arts and sciences of the Egyptians have left no impress whatever on modern thought and life; and in this, the highest, sense of what constitutes a historic people the Egyptian race is decidedly inferior to that people whom at one time their rulers so sorely oppressed. Virtually the same is true of the powerful nations of the Euphrates valley, whose cuneiform literature now already exceeds in extent and in variety that of the Old Testament itself, and who, together with the Egyptians, for centuries made the land of Palestine their tramping ground in their terrible struggles to attain the highest ideal of ancient statescraft — namely, the establishment of a world's empire; yet the pigmy kingdom which they mention only incidentally in their boastful records of conquests has affected the fate of peoples and nations a thousand times more than their victories. Even should it turn out to be the case, what is repeatedly claimed — namely, that not a few of the fundamental ideas in Israel's religious system were derived from the Babylonians — it would nevertheless remain to the credit of Israel to have made these ideas the potent agencies in history that they have been and still are. Even should the lost records of other powerful peoples, such as the Hittites, still be unearthed and deciphered, there can be no reason to believe that any of the leading and permanent elements in history could be traced to these sources. As far as such elements are concerned, some of the greatest nations of the earth and the representatives of the oldest types of civilization might almost as well not have existed. The civilization of China, with its boasted antiquity, has been practically a *nil* in the development of history, and is even yet.

The prominence of Israel and its position in universal history are determined by the fact that this people, in the shape and

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form that its religious ideals were developed by Christianity, has contributed that factor which in the history of the individual and of nations is the most powerful — namely, the religious. It must distinctly be remembered that it is not Israel as such, but Israel as legitimately represented in Christianity, that has proved to be such an agency in the past and present. Israel as such was never a missionizing religion or people, notwithstanding the well-known proselyting endeavors of the Pharisees of the New Testament period. In its Old Testament phase of development Israel never could nor would have proved to be a powerful agent in human history. Of this fact the records of the past as well as the Israel of today are ample witnesses. Israel today makes no converts and virtually tries to make none. Its world-wide mission could be and was recognized only then when its principles and religious teachings and tenets attained their highest and divinely intended development in Christianity. Not in literature, not in religious thought, not in any of the leading departments of human activity and thought, except the material and the financial, is the influence of Israel in any of its unique phases and peculiarities felt, and even here it is an open question whether it is for good or for harm. On the other hand, the great ideas that constitute the life of Christianity and have made it the prime agency in the world's development have their historic source in Jewish soil, and are the legitimate outcome of what Israel's prophets and seers taught and proclaimed.

In supplying this element to the composite of modern life, Israel, through Christianity, has furnished the prime agency in this life Virtually there are but three nations of antiquity upon the shoulders of which modern society and civilization stand, namely, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jewish. The Greeks supplied the forms of thought, the type and the method of logical and philosophical systems, the ideals of the beautiful, and, in general, the basis for learned and scientific research; the Romans have, by their models and teachings, furnished the basis of modern social and political organizations for the state and government, and the general construction of law and society. But the Jews have indirectly, through Christianity, supplied the

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ideals that control the highest spiritual and religious life. The Romans and the Greeks have satisfied the needs of the head, but the chosen people those of the heart. It is a fact not to be denied that the religious has always been, and in the nature of the case always will be, the most potent factor and force in the makeup of peoples and of individuals. Not language, not kinship, not the ties of flesh and blood, move the hearts of men as do their religious convictions, hopes, and feelings. This principle, recognized repeatedly by Christ in his teachings, is one of the chief teachings of the philosophy of history. And it is a fact not to be denied that even in circles that do not professedly recognize Christianity and its claims, and in fact in the modern social order in general, the accepted canons of what is good or bad, of what is lawful or what is unlawful, the undercurrent that rules and reigns supreme in modern thought and life, are substantially the expression, although often unconsciously so, of what a Moses, or an Isaiah, or a David, taught and commended. The Jewish religion, as it appears in perfect form in Christianity, is now and has been not only the most powerful recognized, but also the most powerful latent force in the historical development of the peoples of our times, in their political ups and downs, in their literature, in their social and economic life, in their hopes and aspirations. The whole intellectual and spiritual atmosphere which modern peoples breathe, and in which they move and have their being, is saturated with ideas and thoughts that first found their expression in the historic precincts of the chosen people. As Ewald says, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, the history of Israel "is at bottom the history of the gradual unfolding, through all the stages of development, up to the stage of complete victory, of the true religion, which was unfolded and spread to become the blessing and possession of all nations."

The highest agency in history are *ideas*, and the highest ideas in the records of the human race have been supplied by Israel. It is another question whether the possession of this agency by Israel is a natural development of a people endowed and gifted above all others for the unfolding of religious thought, or if it was a product of special providential revelation. For the

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point at issue the source of this power is a matter of indifference; its possession and employment as a factor in history assigns to Israel its position among the nations of the past. That, however, it was not a natural talent, but a special gift, would appear among other things from the fact that the other Semitic peoples in no way seemed to share in this endowment. Whatever religious importance Mohammedanism has derived from Judaism and Christianity, the religion of the Arabs before the Mohammedan period is very crude and elementary; at any rate, does not show anything like such a high stage of development as that which characterizes Israel's religion. It is true that Israel has done little in other respects, such as literature, the arts, the sciences, etc., but, while failing to furnish leading contributions to later civilization in this regard, it has furnished those that are higher and more important. Stade, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Einleitung, p. 4, says: "Israel's significance in the history of the human race consists in this, that this people was the leader in the sphere of religion, just as the Greeks were in the domain of philosophy, and the Romans in the domain of politics and statesmancraft. In fact, only in Israel religion as such really becomes a fact."

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A TWELFTH-CENTURY GOSPELS MANUSCRIPT.

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AMONG the manuscripts already gathered in the museum of the Newberry Library, Chicago, is one of especial interest to biblical students. It is a finely executed Greek manuscript, containing the four gospels, complete, without the omission of a page A double page of this manuscript, in facsimile, is presented as frontispiece of this magazine.[1]

The manuscript has been assigned with a high degree of probability to the twelfth century, and thus is to be ranked with perhaps four complete Greek cursives of the gospels, of equal antiquity, known to be in the United States. The manuscript consists of 211 parchment leaves, each 13 x 8.6^{cm}, making a book a little smaller than the familiar 16mo. edition of the Revised Version. Beside the gospels, the manuscript contains the ordinary apparatus in the way of subscriptions, summaries, and chapter lists. Thus after Matthew, with which the book begins, follow three considerable subscriptions relating to the origin, contents, and history of the first gospel. Then follows a similar paragraph dealing with Mark. Next is given the list of chapter titles for Mark, forty-eight in all, with the twenty-seventh of which the left-hand page of the facsimile begins. The division of Mark into forty-eight chapters, and of Matthew, Luke, and John into sixty-eight, eighty-three, and eighteen respectively, is an ancient one, appearing in as early a manuscript as the Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century. The chapter title at the head of the left-hand page—*περὶ τῶν διαλογιζομένων τίς μείζων*, "Concerning those who reasoned which was greater"—refers of course to the latter part of our ninth of Mark. The last chapter, the

[1] A collation of the readings of this manuscript has been prepared by the writer and will appear in January.

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forty-eighth, is entitled περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου, "Concerning the asking of the body of the Lord."

The rudely written verses at the foot of the left-hand page are evidently by another hand than that which wrote the chapter list above them, and were added in this convenient gap probably long after. It will be observed that the scribe omitted the initial letters of his lines, except the second, and left a space toward the outer margin in which to write them in capitals. But for some reason the capitals were never supplied. The insertion of these Marcan hexameters is interesting in view of the fact that Mark alone of the evangelists already had, at the end of his gospel, a metrical subscription of six lines devoted to him. Perhaps this very fact suggested to the later scribe the addition of these hexameters from some other manuscript.

The words at the top of the second page—κυριακῇ πρὸ τῶν φώτων, "For the Sunday before the Lights," that is, before Epiphany—are to indicate the day for which the opening verses of Mark (1–8) constituted the church lesson. Hardly a page of the manuscript is free from these lectionary indications, special readings being given for every day of every week. The baptism of Jesus was one of the things especially commemorated by the Greek church at Epiphany; from the thought of illumination at baptism indeed the name "Lights" by which the day is designated is believed to have arisen;[1] hence the fitness of these eight verses on the Sunday before, while vss. 1–9 composed the lesson for matins on the feast day itself.

The painted miniature which appears on the second page brings us to a striking feature of this manuscript.[2] Each gospel is prefaced with such a painting, done in six colors, and surrounded on four sides by a decorative border, in which the earlier Π-shape, open at the bottom, is hardly traceable. The evangelist is represented seated before a desk, on which is spread a double page of manuscript, while the oriental combination of

Cf. also the words of Asterius, bishop of Amaseia in Pontus, about 400 A. D.: φῶτα πανήγυριν ἄγομεν ἐπειδὴ τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφέσει, οἷον ἐκ σκοτεινοῦ τινος δεσμωτηρίου τοῦ προτέρου βίου, πρὸς τὸν φωτεινὸν καὶ ἀνεύθυνον ἀναγόμεθα. (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 40, p. 216, C.)

[2] See the frontispiece of this number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

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pen-case and ink-bottle lies near. These miniatures give evidence of having been produced with the utmost care and no little skill, but unfortunately only this one of them is in perfect preservation. So minutely are the details executed that probably few who see this miniature observe the pen which the evangelist holds in his right hand. The painting was evidently done over a gold ground, for where the colors have been worn away the gold leaf appears. In the miniature of John there is little left on this ground save the face of the evangelist, with its halo. This face is a remarkable example of mediæval art: for, despite its diminutive size, it is full of benign and venerable dignity. In harmony with the precedence due Matthew and John as apostles, they are represented in chairs, while Mark and Luke are seated on stools. Indeed, John's chair is a veritable throne, possibly in token of the ecclesiastical eminence tradition assigns to him in his later years. It has been said that two manuscript leaves stand on the desk before each evangelist, in these little paintings. In the case of John, however, the leaves do not appear, but across the desk is thrown a roll, inscribed on both sides. Doubtless the mediæval painter had in mind the words of the Apocalypse: "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a roll, written within and on the back, close sealed with seven seals."

The reader who compares the opening lines of Mark, given below the miniature, with the Received Text will observe their entire agreement. If compared with Westcott and Hort, on the other hand, almost every line of the four verses will show a divergence. The numeral letters beside these lines, in the outer margin, are the section and canon numbers, which go back to the time of Eusebius and are found in manuscripts as early as the fifth century. The letters α, β, γ mark the sections into which, quite independently of the chapters mentioned above, the gospel of Mark is divided. In this manuscript there are 239 of them in Mark; from which it will be seen how brief they are. Below β will be seen the letter α, *i. e.*, 1, which is the number of the canon to which this section of Mark belongs. The canon numbers, it should be remembered, refer to one or another of the ten canons into which Eusebius classified all the

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sections in the gospels, in order to facilitate reference from one gospel to the corresponding passage in another. Thus to his first canon belong all sections having parallels in all the other gospels; to his second, sections which appear in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but not in John — that is, as we should say, triple tradition synoptic material; to his sixth, sections common to Matthew and Mark alone. The canon number β, which should stand below the section number α to show that this section belongs to the second canon, *i. e.*, has parallels in Matthew and Luke, seems to have been omitted. But the assignments of section 2 to canon 1, and of section 3 to canon 6, are quite clear. This system, it will be seen, enabled the ancient reader, by consulting the table of canons, to find the parallels, if any existed, of any section of the gospels; and thus did for him what our marginal references are designed to do for us in the gospels, and what the gospel harmonies most satisfactorily accomplish.

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Inductive Studies in the Acts.

By Clyde W. Votaw,
The University of Chicago.

THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30–63 A. D.

Sec. 20. PAUL'S ARREST AT JERUSALEM THROUGH JEWISH ENMITY.

Acts 21 : 17—22 : 29. 58 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. Study of the Facts.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 21 : 17–26, Paul's Effort to Conciliate the Jewish Christians.

Par. 2. 21 : 27–30, Assault of the Jews upon Paul in Jerusalem.

Par. 3. 21 : 31–40, Paul Rescued and Protected by the Roman Soldiers.

Par. 4. 22 : 1–21, Paul's Apologetic Address to his Jewish Enemies.

Par. 5. 22 : 22–29, Paul's Prerogatives as a Roman Citizen.

1. Prepare a concise abstract of the material contained in this section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Paul's address to the Jews (22:1–21), reproducing as exactly as possible the apostle's thought and spirit.

II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *Paul's fifth Christian visit to Jerusalem.*— For the previous four visits confer Acts 9 : 26 (Gal. 1: 18); 11: 30; 15 : 4 (Gal. 2 : 1); 18 : 22. In what year and at what season of the year (Acts 20 : 16) was this fifth visit to Jerusalem? What primary purpose (Rom. 15 : 28), and what secondary purposes, had Paul in making this visit? Why did Paul

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stay while in the city with Mnason, a Hellenist Jew from Cyprus (Acts 21 : 16)? Who are meant by "the brethren" (21 : 17), Mnason and his friends, or the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem generally? Who is the "James" referred to in 21 : 18? Why is no mention made of Peter, John, or any others of the original twelve apostles? How was Paul received by James and the leaders of the Jerusalem church? What was the feeling toward Paul of the Jewish Christians as a body in Jerusalem? On the term "thousands" (21 : 20) see R. V. marg. rdg., which represents the Greek. What is the meaning of 21 : 20, last clause? How could the Jerusalem Christians so distrust Paul, in view of the decision of the Jerusalem Conference seven years before (Acts 15; Gal. 2 : 1–10)? Had Paul in fact done what they (21 : 21) had heard reported of him (*cf.* 1 Cor. 7 : 18–20)?

2. *Paul's conference with the leaders of the Jerusalem church.*— How soon after Paul's arrival in the city did he confer with the church leaders? Was the meeting a formal one? Was it a meeting of the church officers only, or of all the Christians? What position had these men taken (Acts 15; Gal. 2 : 1–10) regarding Paul and his work? Had Paul been at Jerusalem again since that time (*cf.* Acts 18 : 22), and, if so, what had been done? What part did Paul take in this meeting on the fifth visit? State what information he could give them as to the work of his third missionary journey. How was his report received? Why is no mention made here in Acts of the collection which Paul had brought, as the chief purpose of his visit, from the Gentile Christians to the Jewish Christians? What action was recommended to Paul by the Jerusalem leaders? For what reason? Was the recommendation a wise and reasonable one? How large was the class of Jewish Christians on behalf of whom this course was taken? Would the performance of it indeed remove their suspicion of Paul?

3. *Paul's participation in the Nazaritic vow.*—What was the nature and purpose of the Nazaritic vow (*cf.* Num. 6 : 1–21)? Was this in fact an instance of it? Describe the details of the performance of this vow. Is it to be understood that the four men with whom Paul associated himself in its observance were Jewish Christians? Did the recommendation of the Jewish leaders contemplate a complete performance of the vow by Paul, or only a partial participation of Paul in the vow of the four men (21 : 24)? In the case of mere participation, what would have fallen to Paul to do (21 : 24, 26)? Was Paul's performance of, or participation in, this vow inconsistent either with his principles or with his practice (*cf.* 1 Cor. 9 : 19–23; Rom. 14 : 1, 2)? Explain

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Paul's attitude toward external Judaism as regards principle and practice (*a*) for himself, (*b*) for Jewish Christians, (*c*) for Gentile Christians. Did the observance of this vow by Paul accomplish what was intended — did the Jewish Christians, because of it, put confidence in, and extend complete fellowship to, Paul?

4. *The assault of the Jews upon Paul.*—What was the feeling of the non-Christian Jews in Jerusalem toward Paul? What had Paul feared concerning this visit to the city (*cf.* Acts 20 : 22–24; 21 : 10–14; Rom. 15 : 31)? Who instigated the attack upon Paul (21 : 27)? How came they to be in Jerusalem? Why did they hate the apostle (*cf.* Acts 20 : 19)? Why were the Jerusalem Jews ready to join in the assault? What charges did they bring against Paul (21 : 28, 29)? Were these charges true? Had Paul in fact, in his general teaching, denounced the Jewish nation, the Mosaic system, and the temple at Jerusalem? Had Paul in fact taken Trophimus, a Greek, into the portion of the temple permitted only to the Jews? Would he refrain from doing so on the ground of principle or of expediency? Were the charges seriously believed by the Jews, or were they rather an excuse for the venting of their hatred toward him? Would they have killed him if he had not been taken out of their hands? By whom was he rescued, and how? Whither was Paul taken, and for what purpose? Did the Roman captain attempt to get at the facts in the case? Whom did he at first suppose Paul to be, and why? What is known about the Egyptian and the assassins here referred to (21 : 38)? What immunity and respect did Paul secure for himself by making known his Roman citizenship?

5. *Paul's address to the Jewish mob.*— For what did the mob who had assaulted him clamor (21 : 36; *cf.* 22 : 22; 25 : 24; Luke 23 : 18)? Why did Paul wish to address his enemies? Why did he speak to them in the "Hebrew" (*i. e.*, Aramaic) language? Explain the terms "brethren and fathers" (22 : 1). Was it Paul's purpose in this speech to reply directly to the charge that he was everywhere teaching against Judaism? Prepare an analysis of Paul's defense, for which the following may give suggestion: (1) introduction, vss. 1, 2; (2) he had been a strict Jew like themselves, vss. 3–5, (3) until God had shown him the truth of the gospel, vss. 6–16, (4) and had appointed him to a Gentile ministry, vss. 17–21. Observe carefully the facts stated here as to Paul's early life. Make a detailed study of this account, by Paul himself, of his conversion, comparing with it the previous account in 9 : 1–19. Consider the divine revelation here recorded (22 : 17–21), as

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to when it took place, why it is not mentioned in its chronological position in Acts, why no mention of it is made at all in Gal. 1 : 17, 18, and what the purpose of the revelation was. What features of the address were calculated to have a soothing and winning effect upon his hearers? Characterize the address as to the ability, wisdom, and sincerity of Paul manifested in it? How was the account of this address obtained for the book of Acts? What was the effect of the address upon his Jewish enemies? Was he allowed to finish what he wished to say (22 : 22)?

III. Observations and Teachings.

These concluding chapters of Acts (chaps. 21–28) deal exclusively with the arrest, trials, and imprisonments of Paul. For that reason they contribute almost no information concerning the main topics of the general history of Christianity in this period, their organization, institutions, environment, belief and teaching, daily life, and divine guidance. There are, however, observations to be made upon this portion of the history, and teachings to be drawn from it. The student will make note of such as seem to him deserving of special mention.

Literature.— Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 301–306; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 40; Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 21; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xvii; Weizsäcker, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. II, pp. 13–15; Bible Dictionary, articles, Ananias, Antonia, Damascus, Elder, Hebrew Language, James, Paul, Romans, Roman Citizenship, Tarsus, Temple, Trophimus, Vows.

Sec. 21. TRIAL OF PAUL BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN.

Acts 22 : 30 — 23 : 35. 58 A. D. Jerusalem.

I. Study of the Facts.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 22 : 30—23 : 10, The Trial of Paul before the Sanhedrin.
Par. 2. 23 : 11, Paul Divinely Assured of a Ministry in Rome.
Par. 3. 23 : 12–15, The Conspiracy of the Jews against Paul.
Par. 4. 23 : 16–22, The Plot Made Known to the Roman Officials.
Par. 5. 23 : 23–35, Paul Removed for Safety to Cæsarea.

Prepare a careful abstract of the material contained in this section.

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II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *The attempted examination of Paul before the Sanhedrin.*—What authority had the Romans at this time over the assemblage and the acts of the Jewish Sanhedrin? By whom was the Sanhedrin on this occasion called together? For what purpose (22 : 30)? With what statement did Paul begin his defense of himself? Why did Paul address the Sanhedrists as "brethren"? With vs. 1, last clause, compare Acts 24 : 16; 2 Tim. 1 : 3. In view of the Jewish charges against him, what did Paul mean by his claim that he had up to this time lived in all good conscience before God? Why was the high priest greatly incensed at these words of the apostle? How did he resent them, and why? What reply did Paul make? Explain the phrase "whited wall" (vs. 3, *cf.* Matt. 23 : 27). What apology did the apostle subsequently make (vs. 5) for his rebuke of Ananias, and on what grounds? What did he mean by saying "I wist not that he was high priest"? What is known about the high priest Ananias? Explain the oriental custom of smiting referred to in vs. 2.

2. *The stratagem of Paul at the trial.*—Was it apparent, from the reception given Paul's first words, that a fair trial could not be had? Instead of attempting to continue his defense, what did Paul do? What did he hope to gain by raising this issue among the Sanhedrists? Was it honest and worthy of the apostle to resort to this stratagem in self-defense? Which of the two parties predominated in numbers in the Sanhedrin, and which in official power? What were the reasons for the difference and hostility between the two parties? With which party did Paul emphatically ally himself, and why (*cf.* Acts 22 : 3; 26 : 5; Phil. 3 : 5)? Explain the phrase (vs. 6) "the hope and resurrection of the dead." How was it concerning this that Paul was on trial? What attitude did the Pharisaic party then assume toward Paul? What was the motive of their action; sympathy with Christianity, or a desire to make a point against the Sadducees? Compare with this incident that recorded in Acts 5 : 27–40. What was the outcome of this dissension stirred up by Paul? How was he rescued from the hands of his enemies?

3. *Comparison with the trials of Jesus and Stephen.*—Make a careful review of the trial of Jesus (Luke 23 : 1–24, and parallel accounts in Matt. and Mark; John 18 : 19–24, 28–40); also of the trial of Stephen (Acts 6 : 8—7 : 57). Who were the leaders of the persecution in the case of Jesus, Stephen, and Paul, respectively? What charge was

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brought against the accused in each case, and how was it presented? What was the defense of each one? Were there violence, irregularity, and injustice, in all three trials? What was the outcome of each trial, and why? Were the Jews, as represented by their national leaders, any nearer to an acceptance of Christianity in 58 A. D. than they were in 30 or in 33 A. D.?

4. *Paul's future ministry in Rome.*—Consider the time, manner, and purpose of the divine assurance given Paul that he was still to work in Rome. Describe Paul's previous hopes and plans for visiting Rome (Acts 19:21; Rom. 1:11–13; 15:22–32, and elsewhere). Did Paul need such encouragement to sustain him in the long imprisonment upon which he was entering? Why was it necessary (vs. 11) that Paul should preach the gospel in Rome? Consider the providential guidance of Paul at previous crises (Acts 9:1–19; 16:6–10; 22:17–21, and elsewhere).

5. *The plot of the Jews against Paul.*—Describe the plot which was laid by the Jews to assassinate Paul. How many, and who, were the Jews engaged in this conspiracy? How did any of the Sanhedrists dare to join in so illegal, secret, and violent a plot? Could they religiously justify themselves in the undertaking? Compare these plotting Jews with those who crucified Christ, and with those who, stoned Stephen. Why did they not put Paul to death as they had done with them? Consider other instances in which Paul was protected by the Roman government from his enemies. Would the Jewish plot probably have succeeded except for the fortunate and timely discovery of it by Paul's nephew? Is anything further known about him, or about any of Paul's immediate relatives? How was the matter made known to the Roman authorities? Had the Romans no power or disposition to punish such conspirators as these?

6. *The removal of Paul to Cæsarea.*—What did Lysias do with Paul to protect him from the Jewish plot? Why was Cæsarea chosen as the place (vss. 24, 33)? Was the action of the Roman captain in this whole matter faithful to duty and commendable? What escort did he provide for Paul on this journey? Why so large a body of soldiers? Locate Cæsarea upon the map. Ascertain as well as you can the time and circumstances incident to a journey thither from Jerusalem. To whom was Paul delivered in Cæsarea, and why? How did Lysias communicate to Felix the facts in this case (vss. 25–30)? Did the letter contain an exact statement of the facts (see especially vs. 27, last clause; compare Acts 21:31–40; 22:25–29)? How came this letter

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to be preserved, and to find its way into the book of Acts? With vs. 29 compare Acts 18 : 12–17; 25 : 17–21. What had the trial before the Sanhedrin disclosed as to whether Paul was innocent or guilty? Why had not Lysias therefore released Paul, or had he power only to refer the case? What disposition of the case did Felix temporarily make? Where was Paul kept in custody until he could be formally tried?

III. Observations and Teachings.

For directions as to the work to be done under this head, see the statement at this point in Sec. 20.

Literature:—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 306–308; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 40; Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 21; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xvii; Bible Dictionary, articles, Ananias, Antipatris, Cæsarea, Claudius Lysias, Felix, High Priest, Paul, Pharisees, Sadducees, Sanhedrin.

Sec. 22. TRIALS OF PAUL BEFORE FELIX AND FESTUS.

Acts 24 : 1—25 : 12. 58–60 A. D. Cæsarea.

I. Study of the Facts.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1.	24 : 1–9,	The Trial before Felix — the Prosecution.
Par. 2.	24 : 10–21,	The Trial before Felix — Paul's Defense.
Par. 3.	24 : 22–26,	Action upon the Case Deferred by Felix.
Par. 4.	24 : 27—25 : 5,	Festus, Felix's Successor, Importuned against Paul.
Par. 5.	25 : 6–12,	The Trial before Festus and Appeal to Cæsar.

1. Prepare a careful abstract of the material contained in this section.

2. Write out a paraphrase, reproducing as exactly as possible, in your own language, the thought and spirit of the original, (*a*) of Tertullus' address (24 : 2–8), (*b*) of Paul's address (24 : 10–21).

II. Topics for Investigation.

1. *Tertullus' speech in accusation of Paul.*— How long a time intervened between the Sanhedrin trial of Paul (23 : 1–10) and this hearing before Felix? Who came to Cæsarea to prosecute the case against Paul? Who was Tertullus? Why did the Jews employ him to represent

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them in the trial? Prepare an analysis of Tertullus' speech, for which the following may afford suggestion: (1) the exordium, vss. 2*b*–4; (2) three distinct charges against Paul: sedition, heresy, sacrilege, vss. 5, 6; (3) the peroration, vs. 8. Is this probably a mere outline of what was said? Was Felix deserving of the praise bestowed upon him (vss. 2, 3)? With "mover of insurrections" (vs. 5) compare Acts 16:20; 17:6; 21:28; Luke 23:2. Explain the title "Nazarenes" (vs. 5; Matt. 2:23; Mark 14:67; 16:6). With vs. 6 compare Acts 21:28, 29. Consider in detail the three charges against Paul, as to the meaning, basis, and reason for each. Who (vs. 9) arranged and supported theses charges against the apostle? What was the object of Tertullus: (*a*) to get from Felix a condemnation of Paul; or (*b*) to persuade Felix to remand the case to the Sanhedrin (*cf.* Acts 25:3, 15, 16)?

2. *The defense of Paul before Felix.*—Why did the apostle present his own defense, instead of making it through an advocate, as did the Jews? What were Paul's qualifications as a jurist and advocate? Have we anything more than an outline of his address? Was Luke present at the trials of Paul (*cf.* Acts 21:17; 27:1)? If so, was he probably himself the source of these accounts of the trials? Prepare an analysis of Paul's address, for which the following may afford suggestion: (1) introduction, vs. 10; (2) reply to each of the charges: sedition, vss. 11, 12; heresy, vss. 14–16; sacrilege, vss. 17, 18; (3) demand for a fair trial, vss. 19–21. Consider the simple but skillful preface to Paul's defense. How did Felix's long official career promise well for Paul? Why did Paul call attention (vs. 11) to the fact that he had not yet been in Palestine two weeks? Consider carefully Paul's reply to the charge of sedition (vss. 12, 13). What defense did he make against the accusation of heresy (vss. 14–16)? Explain the term "the way" (vs. 14; *cf.* 22:4; 24:22, and elsewhere). What is the meaning of "a sect" (vs. 14)? With vs. 16 compare Acts 23:1. How could Paul claim to be loyal to Judaism, in view of his gospel beliefs and work? Acknowledging that he was the leader of the gospel sect, did he claim for it the same immunity that was accorded to other Jewish sects? Consider carefully Paul's reply to the charge of sacrilege (vss. 17, 18). Observe in vs. 17 the only reference in Acts to the Pauline collection (*cf.* Rom. 15:25, 26, and elsewhere). Had Paul in fact taken a Gentile into the portion of the temple allowed only to Jews (*cf.* Acts 21:27)? With vs. 21 compare vs. 15; 23:6–9. What irregularity in the trial against him did Paul point out (vss. 18–20) and demand rectification of?

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3. *Felix and his attitude toward the case.*— Ascertain all that can be known about Felix. What is meant (vs. 22*a*) by the statement that Felix had "more exact knowledge concerning the way"? What were the reasons why Felix put off a decision in Paul's case (vss. 22, 26)? How could Felix suppose that either Paul or his friends would buy his freedom? On Paul's ability to meet the expenses of his trials see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveler*, pp. 310–312. How long was the decision deferred (vs. 27)? Explain Paul's relations with Felix during this interval (vss. 24–26). What were the features of Paul's imprisonment at this time (vs. 23)? Could he carry on his missionary work in any way during this period? What was the divine purpose of Paul's long imprisonment in Cæsarea? What terminated Felix's relation to Paul and his case?

4. *The trial of Paul before Festus.*— Ascertain all that can be known about Festus. In what year, and why, did he succeed Felix as the governor of the Roman province of Judea? Why did the Roman governor make his headquarters at Cæsarea? How soon after his arrival in the province was Paul's case brought before Festus? By whom, where, and why? Did they desire from Festus a condemnation of the apostle, or the transfer of his trial to Jerusalem (*cf.* 25 : 3, 15, 16; 23 : 12–21)? Explain this persistent Jewish hatred. Observe Festus' honest, dignified, and judicial treatment of the matter. When did Paul have a hearing before Festus? Consider that this trial is the third in the series (before the Sanhedrin, before Felix, before Festus), and the last before his Roman trials. What charges were brought against Paul in the trial before Festus (*cf.* vs. 8, presumably the same as in the former trial, 24 : 5)? What was Paul's reply to these accusations? Why does not the Acts contain an account of these speeches? What did Festus decide as to Paul's innocence or guilt relative to the Roman law (*cf.* Acts 25 : 18–20; 18 : 12–17)? What question did he put to Paul (vs. 9), and why? Why did not Festus acquit Paul? Compare Festus with Felix in their relation to Paul.

5. *The appeal to Rome.*—How did Paul remove his case from both Festus and the Jews? Describe the right of a Roman citizen to appeal his case from the provincial court to the imperial tribunal at Rome. Upon what conditions only was such an appeal granted? What was "the council" (vs. 12), and why did Festus confer with these councillors? What led Paul to make the appeal: (*a*) the belief that he would not obtain justice or release in Judea (but *cf.* Acts 26 : 32); (*b*) the knowledge that he was divinely appointed (Acts 23 : 11) to go to

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Rome? What did Paul anticipate would be the outcome of his case in the Roman courts?

III. Observations and Teachings.

For directions as to the work to be done under this head, see the statement at this point fn Sec. 20.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 308, 309; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 41; Conybeare and Hawson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap 22; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xviii; Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 303-313; Bible Dictionary, articles, Ananias, Cæsar, Cæsarea, Drusilla, Felix, Festus, Lysias, Nazarenes, Paul, Tertullus.

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The Council of Seventy.

The work of members of the Council at summer schools has been completed, and the results are remarkably satisfactory, in consideration of the fact that the season at all assemblies and summer schools was seriously affected by the hard times.

At Chautauqua, where Professors F. K. Sanders, of Yale; Rush Rhees, of Newton Theological Institution; W. H. Marquess, of the Southern Presbyterian Seminary at Louisville, and D. A. McClenahan, of the United Presbyterian Seminary at Allegheny, gave courses of instruction, the classes in the English Bible were attended by about one hundred different students. Almost the entire number of these students took two hours' work each day. The classes in Hebrew and New Testament Greek which had been announced were all carried through, although the attendance upon some of these classes was small. For the first time in fourteen years the principal of the schools was absent (in Europe), and the courses which he had intended to give were necessarily omitted. The Bible work at Chautauqua will receive a great impetus next year from the new building, the Hall of the Christ, the commencement of which has now been made possible by the recent gift from Miss Helen Gould of five thousand dollars, already noted in the BIBLICAL WORLD. This building will give a center for biblical work, and its beautiful frescoes, statues, and pictures will lend to the study an attractive dignity.

During the summer session of the University of Chicago some eighty students have been working in the department of Old Testament literature and exegesis, and in the corresponding New Testament department one hundred have been in attendance.

At Crete, Neb., where the lectures of Professor Mackenzie were open to the public, an average audience of one thousand was present daily.

At Lakeside, O., the work under Professor Burnham was abandoned at the last moment on account of a small attendance at the assembly.

The Maine Ministers' Institute, for the first time affiliated with the Council, reports a lively interest and good attendance. Twenty-eight

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lectures were given. Those of Dr. Berry, of Colgate University, were notably successful.

The school at Bay View, Mich., under Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale, met with its usual success. About one hundred and thirty-five different students were enrolled.

At Lake Madison, S. D., Professor E. L. Parks met with his usual success in conducting two classes and a conference daily.

Dr. H. L. Willett's work at assemblies in Des Moines, Ia.; Winfield, Kan.; Pertle Springs, Mo.; Bethany Park, Ind., and Macatawa Park, Mich., attracted audiences varying, according to the size of the assembly, from fifteen hundred in the larger to one hundred in the smaller. In addition to his assembly work Dr. Willett visited the International Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society in California, and conducted there the daily morning Bible service. The combined attendance in the Institute schools was fully five thousand persons. This large number of people returning to their homes in all parts of the country should materially influence the character of Bible teaching throughout the year.

Professor Ira M. Price has been reëlected president of the Pine Lake Assembly for the third year. In addition to his duties as president, he lectures upon biblical subjects in the general programme each year.

The Institute outline courses were used quite extensively in colleges last year. From Vassar alone ninety-one students were reported. The University of Pennsylvania, Yale, the University of California, the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, and many other institutions, were represented. The announcement of the results of the college prize examinations in New Testament Greek and the English Bible will be made in the next number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

A new book, *Essays: Jesus and His Times*, a reprint of articles upon this subject which have been published in the BIBLICAL WORLD during the last two years, has been prepared by the Institute for the use of the members of the Bible Students' Reading Guild in its course for the current year.

A new and interesting volume by Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, *The Social Teachings of Jesus*, has been published by The Macmillan Co. In these days of interest in sociology and its relation to Christianity this work will be welcomed. Professor Mathews has just returned from a six-months' trip in Europe and

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Palestine, where he personally examined many important remains of ancient Palestinian life.

Professor Geo. S. Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, the treasurer of the Council of Seventy, has gone abroad for a year of study and investigation. His Council duties will be performed during his absence by Professor Mathews.

The Council has recently had the pleasure of acknowledging from a friend the gift of one thousand dollars, to be used in furthering the work of the Institute.

An exceedingly helpful little pamphlet, containing in about twelve pages an outline of the Scripture material bearing upon the ethical teachings of Jesus, has just been issued by the Institute and can be secured for ten cents. It is the work of Professor Ernest D. Burton and has been used by him in his college classes during the year. It is an excellent handbook for one who wishes to study or teach along this line.

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Work and Workers.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS announce for early publication Professor G. B. Stevens' *Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans.*

PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., of New College, Edinburgh, is to be congratulated on the fact that his *Hebrew Syntax* has already passed into a second edition.

DR. OTTO RITSCHL, of the evangelical theological faculty of the University of Bonn, has been promoted from extraordinary to ordinary professor in the same faculty.

PROFESSOR H. G. MITCHELL, of Boston University, has just issued the third edition of his little Hebrew text-book for beginners, through the house of D. C. Heath & Co.

PROFESSOR W. M. F. PETRIE, of Egyptological fame, has been honored by the philosophical faculty of the University of Strassburg with the honorary degree of doctor of philosophy.

PROFESSOR GIESEBRECHT, of the University of Greifswald, has just issued *Die Berufsbegabung der alttestamentlichen Propheten*, through the firm of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, of Göttingen.

PROFESSOR AUGUST SABATIER, dean of the Protestant theological faculty of the University of Paris, whose work on the apostle Paul has attracted such universal attention, has been named by the French government as an officer of the Legion of Honor.

DR. JOHN HENRY BARROWS has been appointed to be the next Ely lecturer before Union Theological Seminary, New York, January 31 to February 24. His theme will be "The Christian Conquest of Asia," and his eight lectures will present the results of his observations in the Orient.

PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., of Aberdeen University, has written a book on *Impressions of Turkey*, which is just appearing in the lists of Hodder & Stoughton, London. Professor Ramsay has spent

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considerable time in Turkey, and this volume gives much valuable information on the Turk and his government.

OCEAN CITY was the scene of a new Bible Conference, beginning August 15. The leading spirits in the conference were Rev. J. F. Carson and Rev. C. Woelfkin, of Brooklyn. Revs. A. B. Prichard, W. J. Erdman, D.D., J. R. J. Milligan, R. H. McCready, Ph.D., Chas. H. Yatman, and others, participated in the programme.

CHANCELLOR O. C. S. WALLACE, D.D., of McMaster University, Toronto, Ont., is the writer of thirty studies on the "Labors and Letters of the Apostles," to appear in the columns of the *Baptist Union* from September 18, 1897, to April 23, 1898. These studies constitute the Sacred Literature Course of the Christian Culture Courses for the current year.

THE Bible Conference of the Northwest, the second annual session, was held at Minneapolis, Minn., August 24–27, and at St. Paul, August 29 to September 1. Prominent speakers from outside of the twin cities were Rev. Alex. Patterson, D.D., of Chicago; Rev. E. F. Stroeter, D.D., of New York, and Rev. E. P. Marvin, of Lockport, N. Y. The chief themes discussed were inspiration (verbal), prophetic study, the pre-millennial coming of Christ, and personal work. A deep devotional spirit pervaded the meetings, and they were well attended.

MR. JOSEPH JACOBS has assumed the general editorship of a series of volumes to be published by The Macmillan Co., under the title *The Jewish Library*. Each volume will be scholarly, yet popular in form, and will embrace the best results of recent investigation on various aspects of Jewish life. Among those announced we notice *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, by Israel Abrahams; *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, by S. Schechter; *Return of the Jews to England*, by Lucien Wolf; *The Early History of the Jews in the United States*, by Professor Richard Gottheil, of Columbia College, N. Y., and *Jewish Ceremonial*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

THE latest publication in the series of American Lectures on the History of Religions is by Professor D. G. Brinton, of the University of Pennsylvania, and is entitled *Religions of Primitive Peoples*. The Committee on Publication announces that in 1897–8 the lectures will be given by Professor Cheyne, of Oxford, upon Religious Thought and Life among the Hebrews in Post-Exilic Days; and in 1898–9 by Pro-

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fessor Karl Budde, of the University of Strassburg, upon Religious Life and Thought among the Hebrews in Pre-Exilic Days.

The great interest now felt in such studies is further evidenced by the first course of Jewett lectures to be given by R. H. Charles, of Oxford, at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London, upon the History of Jewish Religious Thought during the Two Hundred Years before Christ.

It is a fact not without interest to biblical students that the popular magazines and even the daily papers find it worth their while to give space at times to the discussion of biblical topics. The *National Magazine*, one of the ten-cent magazines, which has something of a sale at the news-stands, is publishing an illustrated serial on *Christ and His Times*, by Dallas Lore Sharp. The articles retell the gospel story, with the addition of some imaginative details. The treatment is more conspicuous for sobriety than for any suggestions of dramatic power or profound insight. The illustrations are largely by such modern artists as Plockhorst, Zimmerman, and Delaroche, though Doré is also drawn upon. The article by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., of the British Museum, published in the September number of *McClure's Magazine*, is of somewhat different character. It is entitled *When were the Gospels Written?* and deals chiefly with the recovery of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and the bearing of the discovery on the question of the date of our gospels. It shows how the recovery of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (written between A. D. 160 and 170) has served to ruin forever the structure which Baur and his followers reared upon their own imaginings, and to render any similar theory much more difficult and less plausible. This latter article is, we are glad to see, reproduced in the American *Review of Reviews*. It is also reported that "Ian Maclaren" is to write a Life of Christ for *McClure's* for 1898. It is to be hoped that the editors have not misjudged the taste of their readers in the publication of these articles, and that they may be justified in publishing others of the same character.

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Notes and Opinions.

The Imagery of Isaiah.—There are many evidences of an increasing appreciation of the Bible as literature. Two orders of scholars have coöperated in bringing about this result, namely, *literati*, who, like Matthew Arnold, have either directly magnified the literary character of the Bible, or, like Ruskin, have directly paid it tribute by suffusing their own style with it; and the critics, who by analysis of its composition have also revealed in fresh light its literary treasures. It would be a disastrous day for religion if the Bible should ever come to be regarded more attentively as literature than as life. Yet, with the right subordination of literature to life, a true conception of the Bible as literature will rather add to than detract from its effect upon life.

Regarding the Bible from the view-point of literature, there is no book which affords greater fascination to the reader than the Prophecy of Isaiah. Canon Driver says of him: "Isaiah's poetical genius is superb. His characteristics are grandeur and beauty of conception, wealth of imagination, vividness of illustration, compressed energy, and splendor of diction. . . . No prophet has Isaiah's power either of conception or of expression, none has the same command of noble thoughts or can present them in the same noble and attractive language."

Among the remarkable literary characteristics of Isaiah perhaps the most striking and unique is what we may call, after Canon Driver, his *imagery*. Whether in metaphor, simile, parable, or illustration, this imagery is marvelous in its power, its adaptiveness, its alertness. The reader is surprised, charmed, fascinated at every fresh disclosure of the imaginative power which, under the influence of the spirit of God, scintillates and flashes in such sparkling hues upon the pages of Isaiah.

It is my purpose to select a number out of many instances of the expressive use of imagery in his prophecy, in order to call more distinct attention to their force, originality, and picturesqueness. In interpreting these passages my chief indebtedness is to the Commentary of Professor George Adam Smith. It is impossible to forbear, in passing, from bestowing a tribute of admiration upon this book. Com-

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mentaries are commonly supposed to be dry reading, except to scholars of the first water; but it would be difficult to find a history, a biography, or even a novel, which surpasses in attractiveness and interest this clear, sympathetic, and scholarly interpretation of Isaiah. If what William Tyndale called "the most sweet smell of holy letters" is a musty odor, then this is no true commentary, for it is as fresh as the new-turned sod and as timely as the morning newspaper. If this had been the typical commentary, the paper-covered novel would not now reign so supreme in the book-stalls. Scholarship and literary art, erudition and the understanding of present-day issues, are here most happily and skillfully blended. But even so able commentators, not only as George Adam Smith, but as Cheyne and Driver, to say nothing of the illustrious Germans, do not render it superfluous to call attention, as we propose, to one of the literary distinctions of this great prophecy.

(1) We cannot begin with a finer illustration of Isaiah's imagery than the vineyard parable of chap. 5. *My well beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.* The cogency of this figure in expressing the care, solicitude, heedfulness of God's provision for Israel's fruitfulness is perfect. The swift touches with which the prophet fills in his word-picture – not one too many, not one too few — present it so clearly to the mind as to greatly enhance the startling and forceful application of it which follows. To the Israelite such a parable, so finely conceived and deftly drawn, must have been intensely impressive. Even to the modern reader the universality of its application renders it almost equally significant and impressive.

(2) In the same chapter, vss. 18 and 19, occurs a very forceful metaphor, which has been obscured by the translation. *Woe unto them that draw punishment* [instead of iniquity. *Vide* George Adam Smith] *near with cords of vanity and sin* [in the sense of its effect] *as it were with a cart-rope: that say, Let him make speed, and hasten his work* [of judgment] *that we may see it, and let the counsel of the Holy one of Israel draw nigh and come, that we may know it.* Thus is represented the sneering bravado of the prosperous and wicked, who at the very moment they carp at it are harnessed to that judgment and are drawing it toward them. Of this they are disastrously ignorant; but the prophet sees it clearly.

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(3) In picturing the approaching incursions of the hosts of Assyria, Isaiah uses three realistic and notable comparisons, which we may group together. In the first (5:28, 29) he likens the Assyrian warrior in his fierceness to a lion growling and laying hold of his prey and carrying it off to a place of safety to devour. A herd of such lions, whose growling is like the roaring of the sea, coming up upon helpless Jerusalem forms a picture of terrible distinctness. Again (7:18, 19) he pictures the Assyrians, in their multitude and their pestiferous and wasting power, as a cloud of destructive insects which, at the *whistling of the Lord*, come sweeping down and settle on all the valleys and rocks and bushes, bringing utter desolation.

At another time (8:7, 8) he takes his clue from the foolish admiration which the Jews had begun to manifest for the broad rivers of Assyria and Damascus, as compared with their own sparse and trickling streams. With a fine irony he tells them that they shall have enough of the rivers which they covet. *Now, therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river strong and many, even the king of Assyria and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: and he shall pass through Judah; and he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck, and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.*

(4) As contrasted with these vivid pictures of the might of Assyria, as an instrument in the hand of the Almighty, consider the inherent weakness and evanescence of the Assyrian power taken by itself—as represented in Isaiah's figure of the *axe* and the *saw* and the *rod*. In order to make the contrast still more effective the Assyrian is first represented as proudly exhorting his invincible prowess under the figure of the successful nest robber: *My hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people; and as one gathereth eggs left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped* (10:14). Having put these haughty words into the mouth of the Assyrian king, Isaiah proceeds to show the utter folly of this boast by means of the following most apt and unanswerable of argumentative illustrations: *Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, as if the staff should lift up* [as if it were] *no wood* (10:15).

(5) At the close of chap. 28 there occurs a striking figure, by which the prophet illustrates the purposive nature of God's treatment of men. He compares God to the husbandman, and asks,

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very pertinently, if the husbandman carries on his various processes of husbandry without order or purpose. *Doth the plowman plow all day to sow? doth he* [do nothing but] *open and break the clods of his ground? When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the cummin, and cast in the principal wheat, and the appointed barley, and the rye in their place?* He does this, and does it because God teaches him. *For his God doth instruct him to discretion, ana doth teach him.* Moreover, when it comes to the harvest time he acts with the same purpose and discretion. He does not treat all the different grains alike, but some he threshes with a light instrument, and some with a heavy. *For the fitches are not threshed with a threshing machine, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin, but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod. Breaa corn is ground, for he will not e'er be threshing it: but though the wheel of his cart and his horses scatter it, he doth not crush it.* In other words, the farmer, even when his work is most protracted, and seems both rough and purposeless, is acting with the greatest wisdom for an end. Much more so God; from whom the husbandman derives his wisdom. *This also cometh from the Lord of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working.*

(6) Of all the beautiful and significant metaphors which Isaiah employs none steals so sweetly into the consciousness and lingers so long and lovingly in the mind as that representation, in the second verse of the thirty-second chapter, of *a man* under the similitude of a *rock* in the desert. *And a man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.* "In the East," says Professor George Adam Smith, "the following phenomenon is often observed: Where the desert touches a river valley or oasis, the sand is in a continual state of drift from the wind, and it is this drift which is the real cause of the barrenness of such portions of the desert at least as abut upon the fertile land. For under the rain, or by infiltration of the river, plants often spring through the sand, and there is sometimes promise of considerable fertility. It never lasts. Down comes the periodic drift, and life is stunted or choked out. But set down a rock on the sand, and see the difference its presence makes. After a few showers, to the leeward side of this some blades will spring up; if you have patience you will see in time a garden." Whether, in drawing this beautiful symbolic scene of verdure springing up under the shelter of the protecting rock, the prophet had in mind the influence of the

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Messiah, whose coming he had predicted, or only that of any one of a line of righteous kings, the church has gratefully, and with entire justification, referred the metaphor to the "Rock of Ages."

These metaphors, which have been culled from a veritable bank of varied flowers, descriptive and analogical, will serve, perhaps, to indicate the wealth and beauty of the imagery of this glowing prophecy. The distinctive characteristic of Isaiah's use of metaphor is its spontaneity, its freedom, its unique adaptiveness. Two facts are necessary to account for this marvelous literary power, an imagination of extraordinary richness, and *inspiration*. No man could write thus unless he were gifted. No man could write thus unless he were also inspired. It has been customary in the past to assume that inspiration alone is sufficient account for all the excellencies, not only of substance, but of form, in the literature of the Bible. Now we have come to believe that there must have been, in order to the production of such a literature, first of all, minds of exceptional gifts and abilities, and then the blowing upon them of the gentle wind of God's spirit to make the spices thereof flow out.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM.

SALEM, MASS.

The cut upon the cover of this number reproduces the celebrated study for the head of Christ by Leonardo da Vinci. It is preserved in the collection of the Brera in Milan.

THE "Zionist" conference, mentioned in the September BIBLICAL WORLD, met at Basle, Switzerland, August 29–31. About 200 delegates, including 30 women, were present. Among other business, the conference voted unanimously in favor of securing land in Palestine and establishing a permanent home for the Jewish people, and the consolidation of all Jews with the aid of the great powers. A committee was appointed to act as the center of the movement, its headquarters being at Vienna. It was also voted to raise $50,000,000, presumably for the purchase of Palestine, and to appoint a committee to report upon establishing a university at Jerusalem. The conference meets next year at Jerusalem. As to the practical results of the movement of which this conference is a part, the *Kritik*, of Berlin, states that already 26 millions have thus far been founded in Palestine, with a population of 9000. Anyone who has seen the great estate or the village of Jaûneh, near Lake Huleh, will not doubt as to the possibility of establishing prosperous estates in the country.

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IN THE *Expositor* for September Rev. S. Baring-Gould thus sums up his position in regard to Paul's mental qualities. He contends:

(1) That Paul's mind was moulded by Rabbinism, and that it never altered its shape.

(2) That, though he may have wished and proposed to go to the Gentiles, he never did so, because he found himself incapable of convincing them with his rabbinic method of argument based on texts taken arbitrarily and twisted about to suit his purpose. To argue on texts you must have an opponent who knows and accepts the texts.

(3) That, failing to reach the heathen, he devoted his energies to detaching from synagogues the lax party among the Jews and the proselytes they had already gained.

(4) That it was due to this proceeding, greatly affecting their interests, that he provoked so much irritation among the strict Jews, breaking out into riot against him.

Some of these propositions are rather novel, but one is not inclined to believe that the evidence in favor of them is as "overwhelming" as their author holds. That Paul never got over being a Jew, and that his rabbinical training is somewhat evident, and that he was not as "Græcized" as some claim, can be admitted. But that he uniformly abused Scripture and never won men direct from heathenism is untrue. What as to the Galatians and the Athenians and Thessalonians and some of the Corinthians? Mr. Baring-Gould's views are like many others — half-truths forced into hypotheses into which facts are forced to fit.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

THE CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS. By PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY. *The Expositor*, 1897, pp. 274–286; 425–435.

The chief aim of this paper is to show "that the principle of a general census was contemplated by Augustus," and that in Luke 2 : 1–3 is preserved the memory of this principle by the mention of one fact in the application of it to a particular province. Evidence renders it probable that Luke is right in the following points: (1) A series of *census* were taken in Syria and Egypt; (2) the idea of taking these *census* originated with Augustus; (3) the first census was taken 9–8 B. C. Accordingly, when Luke speaks of "a first enrollment" he refers to the *first* census of this series and not to the earlier of two *census* held by Quirinius. How account, then, for the fact that the first census in Syria was under Saturninus, while the same census is referred by Luke to Quirinius? Accepting the hypothesis that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, his first term must be not later than 5–3 B. C. Since, however, Varus administered Syria 6–3 B. C., Quirinius must have been associated with Varus, the former administering the armies and conducting the Homonadensian war, the latter as civil administrator and thus having charge of the census. Luke's statement that the census was under Quirinius is simply to give for it a more definite date than a mention of Varus would. But the first census should be taken in 9–8 B. C., and that mentioned by Luke as first was held not earlier than 6 B. C. and was in progress in 4 B. C. This discrepancy may be removed if we consider Luke to speak of the census under Quirinius (for some reason delayed till that late date) as the application of the first census period to Palestine. Accordingly, Luke 2 : 1, 2 should be understood thus: "There was issued a decree by Cæsar Augustus that census should be taken of the entire Roman world; this [with which we are concerned] took place, the first census [of the series], while Quirinius was administering the province of Syria."

This historical interpretation of Luke's language is hardly warranted by the evidence. For Tertullian, upon whose accuracy Professor Ramsay relies to prove the occurrence in Syria of the first census of the series, states that it *was held* (evidently

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completed) in Judea 9–8 B. C. Thus Quirinius' census, occurring at least three years later, cannot be said to be the application of that *first census period* to Palestine, since that application has been made. If both Tertullian and Luke are right we have two *census*. If Tertullian is wrong the evidence for a first census is wanting. In either case the institution of an indictional period is not proved. We admit with Professor Ramsay "that whatever view is adopted difficulties and unanswerable questions remain."

HENRY TODD DE WOLFE.

FOXBORO, Mass.

RECENT ARTICLES ON THE LOGIA. *The Independent*, July 14–Sept. 9; *Expository Times*, September.

Recent numbers of *The Independent* have given its readers numerous articles on "The New Sayings of Jesus." Following is, in brief, a summary of the discussion:

The issue for July 15 published a cabled translation, which had first appeared in the *Sun* and the *Journal* of New York. The next issue gave the text "hastily and in part conjecturally," the corrected text of the seven so-called "logia" appearing two weeks later. Accompanying the text, as cabled, was a dispatch from Professor J. Rendel Harris, of Cambridge, stating as his opinion that the "new logia" are "probably early sayings of Christ," the Greek text being "apparently from a Semitic origin." "It affords proof that many things in Luke," differing from Matthew and Mark, and hitherto regarded as variations, "will turn out to be original." The accompanying editorial comments upon logia 2 and 5 as unlike anything in the New Testament.

The same issue (July 22) contains a three-column discussion by Professor Bacon, of Yale, who thinks that the Roman character of the uncial script indicates a date not later than 200 A. D., though the entire third century lies within the possibilities; further, the usual abbreviations of biblical MSS. present, and the book-form, make a date earlier than 150 A. D. extremely improbable. But in the second part of the second century the canonical gospels "had a world-wide currency and a supremacy practically unchallenged." The time is near when "the Syrian church is translating its fourfold gospel," and Tatian his *Diatessaron*. Professor Bacon evidently thinks it unlikely that at such a time any scribe would have thought it desirable to make separate preservation of these logia of Jesus, of which at least four are parallelisms, wholly or in part, to sayings reported by Matthew. Granting the scribe's possible ignorance of the canonical gospels, there are only three possibilities for the derivation of the material:

1. "It was invented in the interest of some heretical doctrine or

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doctrines." But the fragment cannot be classed with any gnostic or other heretical writings.

2. "It is an adaptation of material taken from the canonical gospels to the wants of the unorthodox." But there is the total lack of the ever-present mark of all such productions, viz., "the doctrinal animus." This group of logia, as a group, is absolutely miscellaneous and colorless.

3. The writer was one who was interested to preserve the logia of the Lord.

"The internal characteristics of the logia are sufficient to guarantee the purity and antiquity of their derivation." They are, moreover, independent of our gospels. Their source must go back to the time when the primitive compilation of logia mentioned by Papias was yet current.

After the synoptics became current, mere compilations of logia could survive only through the later interest of the antiquarian, and to such in all probability is due "the present survival."

As regards logion 3, in answer to the possible charge that it is borrowed from apocryphal sources, "the priority is at least as likely to be on the side of our logion as on the other side." In reply to the charge that logion 2 is "at variance with the accepted teachings of Christ," a Jewish forgery in support of the Jewish Sabbath, Professor Bacon allows only a spiritual significance for this, and so finds it "in the line of Is. 58 and perfectly in the spirit of Jesus." Stating that the first part of logion 5 is admittedly parallel to Matt. 18: 20, and thus dealing with the organization for worship and government of the Christian congregation, as successors of the synagogue, and observing that parallelism and antithesis prevail elsewhere in the logia, he thinks it possible to interpret the latter part of 5 as pertaining to the same. The stone signifies the altar. The wood is for sacrifice. Professor Bacon means this to be interpreted as figurative. He opposes this to the pantheistic exegesis already suggested by others.

Professor Harris' cable dispatch is followed by "Some Notes on the Logia," which appeared July 29. In this he submits that this accretion betrays the fact that a large part of the teaching of Jesus must have passed into oblivion. The influence, moreover, of this document will be felt in various directions. (1) There will be a revival of interest in oriental, and especially Egyptian, research. (2) Another direction of influence will be "in the study of the origins and the text of the New Testament." It shows that primitive collections of the sayings of

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Christ underlie the existing gospels, "reaching beyond the units of the existing gospels." Papias' reference to the original logia of Christ, written by Matthew in the Hebrew dialect, has been taken as proof of the currency of the gospel of Matthew in the beginning of the second century. The discovery of this fragment shows that Papias' reference must not necessarily favor the antiquity of the canonical gospel of Matthew. He may have been speaking of a collection of sayings. In the same way the writing attributed by Papias to Mark may vary from our canonical gospel of Mark. A fresh analysis and a readjustment of the evidence may be necessary, if our canonical Matthew is to be placed far back in the first century. (3) "There will be a change of the critical attitude in matters relating to the text of the existing gospels," and the theories as to the cause of variations in these gospels. The seventh logion Professor Harris regards as unquestionably on the side of Resch, whose theory is that there are traces of the primitive Hebrew gospel to be detected, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Fathers—the theory positing many variants which are due to no known documentary source. (4) The discussion of the synoptic problem will be affected by the discovery. Luke has been regarded as depending upon Matthew, or as having made editorial expansions and corrections which do not proceed from the sources of the synoptic tradition. Probably the measure of the editorial skill credited to Luke will have to be reduced.

The issue for August 5 contains a facsimile of the fragment, with brief mention of H. C. Leonard's article in *The Guardian* (London), who thinks this may have been one of Tatian's lost works, or "a separate collection made by him in the course of the studies which resulted in the *Diatessaron*."

Professor J. H. Thayer suggests, in the number for August 12, that to conclude from this fragment that Matthew's logia in Hebrew were merely a string of disconnected fragments would be hasty.

In "Biblical Research," in the issue for August 19, the writer regards the internal evidence such that these logia cannot be placed later than 140 A. D.; that they could not have formed a part of a narrative gospel; that a more satisfactory view, though not without difficulties, "is that the fragment is what it professes to be, a collection of some of our Lord's sayings," and that, estimated from their archaic tone and framework, they were put in their present form not later than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Though the fragment does not at all amount to a demonstration, "it strongly

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supports the view that, in speaking of logia, Papias and Eusebius intended some similar collection." This theory is sustained by a comparison of the fragment with our gospel, where there are discovered points of contact with Matthew and Mark, but divergences of reading, and also new logia, while indeed there is no perfectly clear case of verbal agreement; the only coincidence at all striking is in the use of δεκτός. logion 6, like Luke in the similar saying, and different from the other three gospels. The hypothesis that both Luke and this fragment come from a common source is as likely as any. There is not a vestige of the peculiar tenets of developed gnosticism, while the ring of genuineness of these logia and the primitive cast of all seven of them favor the independence of the fragment from our gospels.

Dr. McGiffert, in the issue ior August 26, objects to Dr. Bacon's suggested interpretation of logion 5. Making the first part convey the idea that "where any are together and even one is a believer, there Jesus is with him," it then corresponds with an interpretation of the second part, which makes the mention of raising the stone and clearing the wood a reference to labor. Then the meaning is that even in the midst of the world, and in the common occupations of life, the believer may expect Christ's presence.

The issue for September 2 gives Professor Harnack's conclusion that the new logia are from "the gospel according to the Egyptians," and adds points from a recent lecture by Mr. Grenfell, one of the editors of the fragment. Mr. Grenfell controverts the theory of Professor Harnack. He regards the fragment a leaf from a book of great importance, not an original MS., but a copy. Logion 2 he thinks metaphorical, and so perfectly consistent with the teaching of the gospels. Logion 5 is not pantheistic, but addressed to the pessimistic mind which regarded toil and labor as drudgery and sorrow; extracts cited from *The Gospel according to the Egyptians* show that these logia are modeled on wholly different lines. Added points in a lecture by Professor Harris are these: (1) Nearly all these logia show traces of Hebraism, either in the speech or in the parallelism of the parts of the sayings; (2) the whole of logia 5 was known to Clement of Alexandria, who commented upon it at least three times, and always mystically.

The issue of September 9 gives selections from Professor Harnack's translation of the logia. Besides numerous verbal differences from the rendering given by English scholars, there is a new arrangement. Logion 4 is made a part of 3, and for a 7th he has "Jesus saith, Thou

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hearest (or hear!) . . . .," which has not before appeared. Some of Professor Harnack's comments, not found elsewhere, are as follows: Logion 4 probably refers to the disciples. The fasting of logion 2 is evidently ascetic, in accord with Luke 14:33. The observing of the Sabbath means the sanctification of the whole life. This logion is probably not from Jesus. So the first part of 3 and all of 5. The second half of 3 might come naturally from the lips of Jesus; likewise the thought of 4, if not the form.

Professor C. Clemen interprets logion 2 as legalistic. He regards the whole fragment as of subordinate value for the literary criticism of the gospels.

The September number of the *Expository Times* contains a valuable article by Professor Swete. In common with other writers, he regards the title given the fragments, "Sayings of Jesus," eminently appropriate. Logion 2, interpreted metaphorically, is a most natural answer to a query of the disciples regarding fasts and the Sabbath. Whether logion 3 is a genuine saying of Jesus or the product of early meditation upon his true sayings it is impossible to tell. Placed, however, among the utterances of Holy Week, it would be quite natural. Professor Swete agrees with Professor Harnack in the division of the logia, and suggests, for 7, "Jesus saith, Thou hearest in one of thine ears, but the other thou hast closed."

This article of Professor Swete is as scholarly as any that has yet appeared in English, and his translation, with provisional readings, the most interesting. E. D. V.

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Book Reviews.

Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. The Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888–1890. By JOHN PUNNETT PETERS, PH.D., SC.D., D.D., Director of the Expedition. With illustrations and maps. Vol. I. First Campaign. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons; the Knickerbocker Press, 1897. Pp. xv+375.

Dr. Peters' book contains chapters on the following subjects: I, Organizing the Expedition (pp. 1–18); II, Obtaining an Iradé (pp. 19–43); III, Impressions of Constantinople (pp. 44–67); IV, The Discovery of Tiphsah (pp. 68–99); V, The City of Zenobia (pp. 100–121); VI, Deir to 'Anah (pp. 122–151); VII, A City of Pitch (pp. 152–164); VIII, Hit to Baghdad (pp. 165–190); IX, Baghdad and Babylon (pp. 191–219); X, Nippur at Last (pp. 220–241); XI, The First Campaign (pp. 242–278); XIII, The Catastrophe (pp. 279–294). Appendices: A, Subscription Paper of the Babylonian Exploration Fund (pp. 295–297; B, First Application for Permission to Excavate (pp. 298–300); C, Iradé Granting Permission to Excavate (pp. 301–302); D, Translation of Turkish Law on Archæological Excavations (pp. 303–309); E, The Geography of the Euphrates (310–317); F, Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, being a portion of the diary of William Hayes Ward. Director of the Wolfe Expedition (1884–5) (pp. 318–375).

This book will be welcomed by all oriental students and especially by Assyriologists. It is a pleasing, well-written narrative of adventures, very much after the style of Lady Anne Blunt's *The Bedawin of the Euphrates*. It is adapted to the layman rather than to the scholar. There are, however, mistakes of omission and commission. Among the former the following may be noted: (1) The omission of the bibliography of the subject; *cf.* Hilprecht's *The Babylonian Expedition*, etc., Vol. I, Part 1, p. 45; (2) the omission of a short chapter or appendix on the *Nahr-el-Kelb*, by Hilprecht; (3) the omission of appendices on *Zinjerli*, *Marash*, *Carchemish*, *Jebel Siman*, etc. The sweeping statement (p. 37): "The result of their (Haynes, Field, and

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Harper) two and a half months in northern Syria was nothing" is of a piece with several other egotistical and incorrect statements. (4) The omission to give a minute account of each day's journey down the Euphrates; *cf.* the diary of Dr. Ward and my *Down the Euphrates Valley*.[1] (5) The omission of descriptions of the Joseph Shemtob and Khabaza collections of antiquities; *cf. Hebraica*, Vol. V, pp. 74–76; Vol. VI, pp. 59, 60. (6) The omission of a description of the finds at Nippur; *cf.* Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition*, etc. These are only a few of the important omissions. Scholars would certainly be more interested in such topics than in a long *excursus* on Constantinople.

Dr. Peters has entered into too many details. One doubts the advisability of informing the world of (1) the opposition developed in Philadelphia and Baltimore before the complete organization of the expedition; (2) how the guns were smuggled into Iskanderoon; (3) that a member of the expedition wished to resign in Aleppo—there were two, in fact, and their reasons, which were good, are not given; (4) of his inability to get on with the other members, etc.

Dr. Peters belittles the results of the first year in order to gain more credit for himself during the second. Some of the statements on p. 288 are absolutely incorrect, and they will be noticed at length in the October number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. It would have been better for Dr. Peters to have omitted a great number of these impersonal and personal details. He has set the pace, and it would not be surprising if other members of the expedition told their stories also. We await with interest the second volume by Haynes and Hilprecht. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

Bible Handbooks for Young People. IV. THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By JOHN B. GOUGH PIDGE, D.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1897. 128 pp., 16mo. $0.50.

This little work, by the author of a valuable commentary on Philippians, has thirty-eight pages upon the office, influence, authorship, and interpretation of the prophets, and eighty-four pages upon matters of introduction to the prophetical writings of our canon.

Of the brief but good picture of the function and influence of the Hebrew prophets exception may be taken to some details, but none to

[1] *Old and New Testament Student*, X, 55–57; 118–119; 367, 368; XIV, 160–165; 213–217; XV, 12–16; BIBLICAL WORLD, I, 57–62.

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the general position that the prophet is a representative of God, with a message to the men of his time, of God's attitude toward them, in the exposition of which he "often uttered predictions, some of them of far-reaching and world-wide importance," going so far as in some sense to paint "the portrait of the Messiah." Though the prophets "lived above the national life," they "were the moral teachers of their day," and the interpreters of the divine will in private and public affairs. In the discussion of authorship the writer overestimates, perhaps, the difficulty of reaching agreement on controverted points, and the editorial work so long ascribed to "Ezra and the Great Synagogue" is too positively assented to (p. 25). The chapter on the interpretation of prophecy contains much that is admirable. Sentences like these abound: "Once they were looked upon as almost exclusively engaged in predicting future events. Their still more important function as teachers of their own times in moral righteousness was almost entirely overlooked . . . . He is seen to have been above all things a man of his own times . . . . uttering words of the most immediate and practical importance . . . . He served his own generation as every true man has done . . . . He saw the outcome and fruitage of present tendencies . . . . the future on which his eye was fixed was almost always that immediate future on whose verge he was then standing" (pp. 30, 31). "Later ages may have shown us larger suggestions in his words than even he dreamed of. The prophet may himself often have been mistaken in his expectations" (p. 34) . . . . "much of the drapery is necessarily local and temporary, and it is not the form but the idea which is essential and eternal" (p. 38). The author rightly demands "a clear distinction between exposition and application" (p. 38); but when he calls for "a sharp distinction between the authorized interpretations of Old Testament prophecies given us in the New Testament, and the unauthorized interpretations of uninspired men," and goes on to contrast "this application to the times of Christ" with "an earlier application to the prophet's own times and needs," and maintains that Is. 7 : 14 has "an earlier and much more natural application," we are uncertain whether in the author's judgment the inspired New Testament interpretation is exposition or application. If the second, he indeed escapes the danger of the "double sense" method of interpretation, but leaves the "most important applications" of the greater part of Messianic scripture entirely unknown (pp. 34, 40); but in view of Christ's language about "the slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken," we incline to make these "private interpreta-

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tions" (in the sense in which the term is used) against which Dr. Pidge warns us (p. 41).

The author's treatment of the several prophetical books is fair, though necessarily incomplete. There are a few infelicities, and some of them will no doubt be corrected in a second edition. On p. 26 he claims, for example, "from internal evidence that Joel is the earliest of" the prophets, while on p. 48 this internal evidence is reduced to the matter of Joel's position in the list of minor prophets, and the situation described is there said to harmonize better with a very late date. Dr. Pidge maintains the genuineness of the book of Isaiah, on the ground that Isaiah, in chaps. 40–66, has departed from Jeremiah and others simply in viewing the future as if it were present, through a larger discourse than they do; but the difficulty is not just this, it lies rather in the fact that by the supposition Isaiah's predictions have no reference to his historical situation and to the needs of his contemporaries. He rather transfers himself to a situation which he has not even predicted and prophesies from that point of view to another generation of men. The author himself cautions us against such a theory in other parts of the book. It seems to be easy for writers of all schools to accept a modification of the older view respecting Daniel (pp. 113, 114). As for the present reviewer, he cannot see how one with Professor Sayce's opinion of Daniel can any longer be made to pose as "orthodox" (p. 109), even if he does oppose the conclusions of critical scholars in less important questions.

The issue, by the American Baptist Publication Society, of a book which quotes with approval so much from Driver's *Introduction* is an evidence that we have gone far toward grasping the truth expressed by Dr. Pidge when he says, in substance, that questions of authorship and date are purely critical, not vital (pp. 24, 75).

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN.

Galilaea auf dem Oelberg, wohin Jesus seine Jünger nach der Auferstehung beschied. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der vermeintlichen Widersprüche in den evangelischen Berichten von den Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen. Von D. RUDOLPH HOFMANN. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. Pp. 53. M. 1.

In this interesting pamphlet Professor Hofmann returns to a subject which he handled forty years ago in a programme of the Fürsten-

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schule zu Meissen—the interpretation of the word "Galilee" in Matt. 28:16. Now, as in 1856, he maintains that the term in this context refers to a region near Jerusalem much frequented by Galilean pilgrims, namely, the northerly height of the Mount of Olives and its vicinity. This use of the name can, he thinks, be traced back from modern times through the Middle Ages to the second century. The volume of evidence brought forward in support of this position is certainly impressive, but the value of part of it (and the most important part) can be easily shown to be exceedingly precarious. It is proved that mediæval Jerusalem, from the end of the thirteenth century, had a Galilee in its immediate neighborhood, but beyond that there is little except conjecture. Testimonies are few and far between for the next nine hundred years, and those supposed to occur in the literature of still earlier times, that is, of the first four centuries, are either due to misunderstanding or are of doubtful authority. Two of the writers of the fourth century are claimed by Professor Hofmann in support of his theory—Lactantius and Chrysostom; but the passages quoted are anything but conclusive. Special stress is laid on several statements in the Acts of Pilate and on a curious passage in Tertullian's Apology. The language of the former is certainly unequivocal. A Judean Galilee is clearly implied in the sentence: "We saw Jesus, whom you crucified, in Galilee with his eleven disciples at the Mount of Olives" (xiv of recension B). If this could be proved to date from the second century, it would establish the early application of the name to a spot close to Jerusalem. That early date, however, is far from certain. The "Acts" may represent the fourth century rather than the second. The very existence of Christian Acts of Pilate in early times has not yet been demonstrated, much less the identity of our Pilate literature with early documents. The words of Tertullian: "Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilæam Judææ regionen ad quadraginta dies egit" (Apol. 21) admit of a quite different construction. "Judæa" here probably means "Palestine" (as in Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii, 79), in which case the province of Galilee is intended. Moreover, the extraordinary statement in the context that Pilate was procurator of *Syria* (Syriam . . . . procuranti) makes it inconceivable that Tertullian can have been minutely acquainted with the nomenclature of the country round Jerusalem almost two hundred years before his time. It is, therefore, impossible to resist the conclusion that the external evidence for the theory is gravely defective; and so, as the rest of the argument is insufficient by itself, Professor Hofmann's clever and plausible reason-

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ing cannot be accepted. He may be right, but he has not yet proved his case.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

EXETER, England.

The Epistle to the Romans; a Commentary Logical and Historical By JAMES M. STIFLER, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Crozer Theological Seminary. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897.

It is remarked by the author in the Preface that this book is "not put forth in the interest of any theological system." But who, we may ask, would suspect that a book which claimed to be a scientific commentary *was* put forth in the interest of any system of theology? It goes without saying that it cannot be a commentary worthy of the name if it is put forth in the interest of any system of theology. To be put forth for that purpose would simply mean falsification of facts. Is there not, at the close of the nineteenth century, enough of the scientific spirit infused into the study of the Bible, so that a commentator need not assure his readers that his interpretation is straightforward, that it is really exposition and not imposition? Alas, if this be not true!

We are also informed in the Preface that the King James version is used as the basis of the commentary "because it is the one still more commonly read, and also because it is less presumptuous to criticise it than the other." But surely Dr. Stifler, as a New Testament teacher, feels that the King James version *ought* not to be more commonly read than the other. The fact that it is more read is a proof of the indifference and ignorance of Christian people. It seems as though teachers of the Bible in particular should take every opportunity to commend the revised version. Not to do so is, practically, to approve the King James version.

The work of Dr. Stifler is, confessedly, not a commentary in the ordinary sense of that term. It is rather a free reproduction and paraphrase of the thought of the epistle. The critical quality of the work may be indicated by the treatment of a single passage of the text, and we will take his discussion of the first passage that is characteristic of the epistle, 1:3, 4: "Concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead." "Jesus Christ," says the author, "is declared to be pre-

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eminent both on his human and on his divine side. . . . . According to the flesh, looked at in his connection with the race, his origin was the very highest. He was princely, being descended from the royal family of David. According to the spirit of holiness — that is, looked at in his connection with the realm above — he was higher than all angels: he was the Son of God. . . . . His resurrection powerfully asserted his sonship. The rising from the dead did not create him a Son. This very passage says he was born so." And later, in summing up the thought of the salutation, the author says that it "asserts the incarnation." Now, in regard to this interpretation it may be noticed (1) that the author uses such technical terms as the "divine side" of Jesus and the "incarnation," terms which Paul nowhere uses. But these terms are quite as difficult of explanation as anything in the text; and if they are taken in the sense which they have in any particular system of theology, then it is quietly assumed that Paul held this system. It may be noticed (2) that nothing is said of the Jewish meaning of the language *Son of God.* It seems to be taken for granted that these words need no explanation. As one reads through the book, it appears that the term *Son* is understood in the metaphysical sense which it has in much of the theology of the past. But is there evidence that Paul used it in a metaphysical sense? Is there evidence that any biblical writer used it in a metaphysical sense? If there is, it might be stated; if not, it is important, both that this fact should be stated, and that the sense in which Paul really used the term should be discovered, if possible. Other points in the author's treatment of this passage might be noticed, but these two may suffice. Critically and theologically the commentary before us may be classed with the work of Dr. Shedd.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE Open Court Publishing Co. (Chicago) has issued a second edition of *Homilies of Science*, by Dr. Paul Carus (35 cents).

THE Fleming H. Revell Co. has issued, in one of the attractive bindings that we have learned to associate with Professor Drummond's essays, a little book (*A Life for a Life;* 25 cents), containing three essays delivered by Professor Drummond at Northfield in 1893. The essays are informal, but stimulating and characteristically broad-minded.

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IN THE *Culture of Christian Manhood* (Revell, $1.50) W. H. Sallman has issued a series of sermons delivered by eminent preachers in Battell chapel, Yale University. The teachings contained are virile and earnest—just the sort demanded by college students. A special interest is given the volume further by its reproduction of portraits of the various speakers.

MESSRS. DODD, MEAD & CO. announce the publication of the English version of the Polychrome or "Rainbow" Bible, to begin in October by the issue of three books: Judges, Isaiah, and Psalms. The same publishers will soon publish the first volume of the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, which covers the synoptic gospels, edited by Professor A. B. Bruce, and the gospel of John, edited by Professor Marcus Dods. The work will comprise four volumes and will be completed within four years.

IN THE series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes* Professor Laidlaw publishes a manual upon *Foundation Truths of Scripture as to Sin and Salvation* (imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 45 cents *net*). The little volume contains twelve studies (with questions for use of classes), in which the author sets forth the scriptural basis of fundamental Christian truths. The book is valuable as a classification of texts rather than as an explanation of theology.

IN THE little book *Crucifixion* (Syracuse, N. Y., Wolcott & West, 1897) John H. Osborn has gathered a number of selections from Roman writers illustrating this method of capital punishment. Some of his views are novel and are worth consideration; as, for instance, the use of vinegar and gall to produce silence; the use of a rope for suspending people upon the cross, and the supposition that the punishment was intended to kill by starvation rather than by wounds. It would have been more satisfactory if the author had given us his authority for these and other features in his account of the binding of a man to the cross. A further point that "our Lord suffered comparatively little pain from His confinement on the cross" is more unlikely, though it makes it less surprising to find the author a champion of the deliberate ending of his life by Jesus himself. It is not easy to see the grounds for the author's statement that Jesus was under no great moral strain at the time of his death. The book is ingenious, but the evidence adduced seems hardly to justify the author's assurance in his conclusions.

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It is not often that in these pages we take note of current fiction, but since in a way *The Christian* (Appleton, $1.50) of Hall Caine implies biblical teachings, it may not altogether be out of place to notice the use made by the author of such teaching. On the whole, this must be admitted to be imperfect and indefinite. There is little attempt at drawing out the real message of Christ, and while a less talented man would have still further confused the zeal of his hero with the teaching of Jesus, it is altogether likely that John Storm's Savonarola-like attempts at prophecy will prejudice his (relatively only) soberer teaching as to social purity. It is, perhaps, inevitable that few texts of Scripture should be used, and that the actions of John Storm should be the outcome of intense sympathies rather than careful study of the New Testament, but we could wish that some day, if this type of novel is to be persistent, we should have a less harrowing portrayal of a better instructed man's efforts to bring Jesus' teaching into practice. The men who are really doing what the hero of this novel is represented as doing are as much better acquainted with the gospels as they are better balanced. As a story we are ready to give the book high praise, and as a somewhat conventional representation of a theorist's denunciation of evils, but as a picture of the application of real Christian teaching to a city's needs it is a disappointment. John Storm's sympathies are Christian, but his use of Scripture is crude and mistaken. Indeed, almost without exception, wherever Scripture is used by him or other characters it is so twisted as to misdirect his noble sympathies and to serve as impulse for mistaken and even criminal — or shall we say insane? — action.

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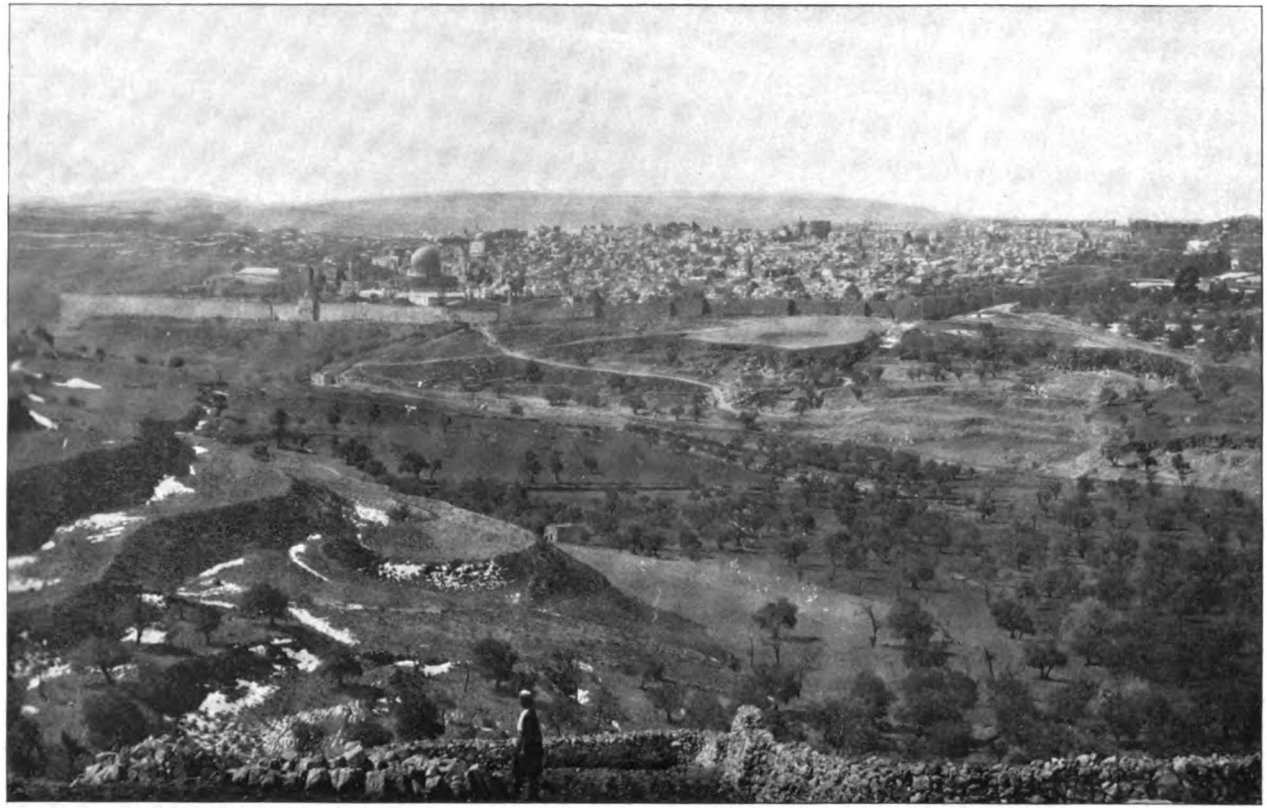

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME X NOVEMBER, 1897 NUMBER 5

THE "NEW METHOD" IN BIBLE STUDY

THERE is no more striking characteristic of today's religious life than the renascence of interest in biblical study. Not alone in colleges where chairs of Christian Literature are being founded, nor in theological seminaries where Biblical Theology is supplementing Dogmatic Theology, but among people at large is this interest increasingly great. A special testimony to the truth of this statement is seen in the earnestness with which any proposal for systematic Bible study is received. In England, the United States, and Australia hundreds of students are grouped in guilds and institutes. The latest proposition is one which has the earnest support of Mr. Moody, and, under the impulse which he always gives to religious undertakings, there are being held in various cities mass meetings in which a "new method" of the study of the Bible is proposed and adopted by large numbers. If we are to judge from the five rules which the discoverer of this "new method" has laid down for his students, it proposes no short cut to a knowledge of the Scripture, but lays emphasis, first, upon the repeated reading of large portions of the Bible, and, second, upon "punctuating of every verse with a prayer."

So far as the first rule is concerned it is most admirable. There is no greater enemy to an intelligent knowledge of the Scriptures than the patchwork in which ordinary reading, and

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especially so-called "Bible readings," too often result. A verse here and a verse there, brought together by some arbitrary or artificial principle of association, can never give a knowledge of the Bible and its teachings. To take a concordance and gather together passages containing the word "Come" is not warranted to give one any great knowledge of the Christian doctrine of grace. The book and not the verse is the proper unit in Bible study. It is just as true, also, that the Scriptures, like any other literary work of supreme merit, need not only be read generously if they are to be appreciated, but must also be read and re-read repeatedly. Who would be allowed to call himself a student of Shakespeare who had read a scene from Hamlet, and a scene from Othello, and these but once? If this new method of Bible study will lead men to that intimate acquaintance with biblical teaching which can come alone from repeated readings, its originator will deserve the heartiest thanks. For it cannot be overlooked that the change from the directions for an old-fashioned "Bible reading" to the rule to read the first eleven chapters of Genesis ten times in succession is certainly a long step toward a proper method in the study of God's Word.

Its First Rule: Long and Repeated Reading

And much is to be said in favor of the second rule. Though no one can interpret it to mean literally what it says, one intent of such a method is to bring the mind of the reader into closer sympathy with God, and thus to arrive at a proper stage of spiritual receptivity. So far this is indispensable. It cannot be too much emphasized that a merely intellectual, that is, a non-religious, study of the Scriptures is not only unfruitful, but unscientific. A man who studies, be it never so intently, the prophets simply to discover political history, or the Pentateuch solely in search for its constituent documents, will get very little understanding of Isaiah or Moses. Spiritual sympathy is indispensable for correct interpretation. As the Bible is intended to set forth religious truth, so must it be studied in a religious spirit. That which is born of the mere grammarian is grammar, and grammar

Its Second Rule: Prayerful Reading

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is but a tool for the hand of the man in whom lives a passion for divine truth. And such a passion breeds and is bred by prayer.

A Possible Implication: Quantitative Spiritual Growth

While we thus recognize the importance of a prayerful reading of the Scriptures, we are not entirely clear that the special form implied by other descriptions of this new method is the best one. Unless we greatly mistake, while the method does not explicitly aim at such a result, it is in danger of cultivating the demand for an immediately appreciable spiritual blessing. A man is to get not merely historical facts, but religious inspiration and truth and unction at each time of reading. Even if this be a misinterpretation of this particular method, it is certainly the essence of much advice given Christian people. The slow, imperceptible growth of Christian character is discredited, and men are urged to seek in its stead instantaneous transformations, or definite and even scheduled spiritual results A certain number of minutes each day is assigned the devotional reading of the Scripture, and at its end the reader is instructed to feel disappointment if he has not received an appreciable blessing.

Measures of Intellectual Development not always Obtainable

We are farthest possible from criticising the ambition to derive moral and religious development from the Bible. That is the thing above all others that Bible study is for, and no man can overestimate its worth, but any teacher knows that in the realm of study harvest does not follow so immediately upon seed time. The student of chemistry does not expect that his first or any reaction will immediately lead him into a new consciousness of a mastery of his science, nor does the student of history expect to get a correct knowledge of the laws of human development when he first begins the study of Greece. Each may find his enthusiasm growing; each may occasionally be startled into new appreciation of the truth he is unfolding, but neither is concerned continually with his enthusiasms or with his

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appreciation of the teachings of nature or history. Each knows that the more data he obtains the broader will be his outlook and the more intelligent his interest in his particular subject. But to seek at the end of any hour of study an answer to the question as to whether he were becoming a better chemist or a better historian would be to dissipate his energy and defeat his very ambitions.

To Seek Immediate Quantitative Results, both Unnatural and Dangerous

So in the realm of Bible study. Often spiritual insight and uplift come immediately upon the reading of a passage. There are times in men's lives when they are conscious of a most rapidly growing Christian experience, but such moments are generally retrospective. Men are convinced that they *have grown* rather than they *are growing*. He who constantly attempts to uproot his Christian experience in order to measure its growth makes his life miserable with his introspection. The kingdom of God is to be established and developed in accordance with natural laws. As the plant grows imperceptibly to fruition, so, in the words of Jesus, is the kingdom of God to grow secretly, one does not know how, and gradually; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. The leaven, though it leaven the whole lump, is not to accomplish its mission at once, and a long time elapses between the mustard seed, the smallest of all seeds, and the mustard plant, the greatest of all herbs. The kingdom of God, as Jesus told the Pharisees, does not come with observation. To disregard this law of nature is to endanger not only one's peace of mind, but the truth of Scripture. Spiritual teaching is often not to be obtained from a specific passage by any legitimate method of interpretation, for the reason that it contains none. The constant search for such teaching, coupled with the determination to extract a certain amount of spiritual food at all costs and within a given time, is bound to lead to a misuse of Scripture and a positive perversion of its teachings. Men will seek not what the writer meant, but what they want him to mean.

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What then is the true method of biblical study for the student who is determined to get from it a real spiritual result?

Bible Study and Normal Spiritual Growth

First, a man must study the Scriptures with the determination to appreciate as thoroughly as possible exactly what the author of the Scripture intended him to obtain. It is not for the interpreter to add to or subtract from this meaning. Second, the student must study in a sympathetic spirit, and this implies that he is to endeavor to put himself under divine influence by prayer. Third, having thus endeavored to get at the truth precisely as it is, and to bring one's self as nearly as possible to the author of all truth, one should have such confidence in that truth and in that author as to believe that spiritual growth is inevitable. As a man has confidence in the power of God as revealed in the outer world, so should he trust God as he is revealed in the laws of human nature. Divine truth will not return to its maker void of results. He who seeks to apprehend exactly the teachings of prophet or apostle or the Christ, and who is willing to incorporate in his conduct such truth as fast as it is revealed, need not be seeking for quantitative spiritual growth. Such a student is working, not only wisely, but scientifically, and such study can no more fail to produce spiritual character than the earth can fail to produce fruit when once the seed is planted in it.

The Christmas (1897) Biblical World

The editors of the Biblical World take pleasure in announcing that the customary special number of the magazine for December will be prepared especially with reference to boys and girls. With this end in view the number will be profusely illustrated and contain articles which have been especially prepared for the younger members of the family and the Sunday school.

The following is a partial table of contents: The Boyhood of Joseph, Professor Chas. F. Kent, Brown University; The Boyhood of Moses, Professor Chas. P. Fagnani, Union Theological

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Seminary; The Boyhood of David, Rev. Dr. O. P. Gifford, Buffalo, N. Y.; The Boyhood of Daniel, Hezekiah Butterworth, Boston, Mass.; The Boyhood of John the Baptist, Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.; Poem, Alice Sawtelle Randall, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.; Child Life in the Orient, Miss Anna Jessup, Beirut, Syria; Children in Missionary Lands, Mrs. Lucy A. Waterbury, Secretary of the Women's Baptist Missionary Society, Boston, Mass.; Bethlehem, the City of the Child Jesus, Professor Shailer Mathews, the University of Chicago.

In addition to these leading articles the departments of the magazine will contain matter dealing especially with the life of Christ, as well as with the general topic of the number. No pains will be spared to make this number the equal, and, if possible, the superior of any of the Christmas numbers of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

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JESUS AS A PROPHET.

By Rev. Professor Sylvester Burnham, D.D.,
Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

That Jesus was a prophet was a fact recognized by his contemporaries. The Samaritan woman at Jacob's well said to him: "Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet" (John 4 : 19). The blind man who washed in the pool of Siloam at the bidding of Jesus, and came away with sight restored, said, when asked his opinion of him that had opened his eyes: "He is a prophet" (John 9 : 19). The Pharisees hesitated to lay violent hands upon him, because they feared the multitudes, with whom he had the name and reputation of a prophet (Matt. 21 : 46). The two disciples who, without recognizing him, talked with him on the way to Emmaus after his resurrection called him "Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people" (Luke 24 : 19).

Nor was this estimate of Jesus out of harmony with the thought and purpose of the Father in reference to him; for, as Peter declared to the people in one of the porches of the temple court, after healing the lame man at the Beautiful Gate, he was the culmination and completion of the long line of prophets that began with Moses, and, as such a prophet, had been promised by God himself (Acts 3 : 22).

It is, however, not out of place to ask in what respects Jesus, as the last and greatest of the long line of prophets like Moses, resembled those that went before him. The reply will be that, while he was more and greater than any other of the prophets, as the son is greater than the servant, as the God-man must be more than the man of God, yet, in the essentials of the prophetic character and work, he was as his brethren, being made, in this respect also, like unto them.

The essential and characteristic matters for a prophet were,

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(1) that he should be a messenger sent by God; (2) that he should speak the words he had received from God to utter; (3) that he should be a man of his times, and have a message for the time in which he appeared, and the people to whom he was sent; (4) that his aim should be to fit the nation for the coming of the kingdom of God; (5) that he should proclaim the coming of this kingdom, and (6) that he should declare the consequences that would follow according as men did, or did not, prepare themselves for the coming of God's kingdom.

All these things are seen in Jesus and his work.

First, he was surely a messenger sent by God. "I am come down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me," he said at Capernaum, when speaking of the true bread from heaven (John 6 : 38). "If any man willeth to do his will," he declared on one occasion in the temple, "he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself" (John 7 : 17). His emphatic words to the Jews at Jerusalem who sought to kill him because he had healed on the Sabbath were: "Ye have not his word abiding in you; for whom he sent, him ye believe not" (John 5 : 38). These utterances, which are only a few among many of like import, show that Jesus was in the world, because he had been sent by God with a message to give to men on God's behalf, with God's truth to tell, which was to be accepted and believed because it was from God.

Secondly, Jesus spoke always to men the words he had received from God.

He said of himself to the Jews at Jerusalem on one occasion: "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things" (John 8 : 28); and a little later, on the same occasion: "Now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I heard from God" (John 8 : 40). Still more emphatically, just before his last passover, he said: "I spake not from myself; but the Father which sent me, he hath given me a commandment, what I should say and what I should speak. . . . . The things therefore which I speak, even as the Father hath said unto me, so I speak" (John 12 : 49–50).

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To no prophet who ever taught God's truth to man did the word of the Lord more truly come, according to his own testimony, than to the prophet of Nazareth.

Thirdly, Jesus was a man for his time, and had a message for the time in which he appeared, and the people to whom he was sent. He came as the man whom his time desperately needed, as the one last hope of the nation that had stoned and killed the prophets who had been sent by God to this rebellious and disobedient people before him. He came as the beloved son who surely could, if such a thing were still possible at all, call back the nation to its loyalty to Jehovah, and thus secure for it its glorious promised destiny. If he should fail, the day of the nation would be turned into darkest night (Matt. 21: 33–41; Luke 22: 9–16). He came, therefore, to a time which needed him, with the needed message for the time, to a nation on the verge of destruction with the promise of hope and life. He was the man for the time as no other prophet had been before him; for never was the time so decisive as in his day. His message was in a very deep and true sense for the people to whom he spoke. Of this he himself was profoundly conscious. "I am not sent," he said, "but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." But he and his words, as had so often come to pass in the case of other of Israel's prophets, were spurned and despised. The last and greatest prophet spoke to his nation and his time in vain.

Fourthly, the aim of Jesus was to fit the nation for the coming of the kingdom of God.

This is already evident from what has been shown in regard to his relation to his nation and his time. It is also made apparent by the account given by Matthew (Matt. 4:17) in relation to the character of the preaching of Jesus at the very beginning of his ministry. According to this testimony, his great theme was "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." It is not important for the present purpose to consider whether the repentance which Jesus urged was to be a means to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God, or was the necessary condition of sharing in the blessings of its presence. In either

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case the great endeavor of Jesus was to fit the lost sheep of the house of Israel for its coming. Nor was such a purpose out of harmony with his wider and larger purpose to be the Savior of the world. For, as he himself declared, "Salvation is from the Jews" (John 4: 22). The world's salvation was to be the result of the establishment and the perfection of the kingdom of God in the world; and Israel was chosen to be the servant of Jehovah, with whom the kingdom of God was to begin, and through whom it was to be perfected. To prepare Israel to serve was, therefore, to begin the salvation of the world. That this preparation was in reality confined to the righteous remnant was only a repetition of what had often been the result of the prophetic work.

Fifthly, Jesus proclaimed the coming of the kingdom of God.

This had been the great work of the prophets of Israel up to his time. The prophet in the people of God was no mere soothsayer, to announce beforehand the coming of an event at a particular time. He might do this occasionally, but it was foreign to the central purpose and work of his ministry. To make this his chief business would have robbed him of all high importance and true spiritual value for the life of the nation. His work was to declare that the kingdom of God was to come, and to teach that it would come whenever men were ready for its coming. He was, therefore, to bid men to prepare the way of Jehovah, and to call them to repentance and righteousness, that the coming of His kingdom might not be delayed. He was to proclaim that this kingdom might be set up in the days of Ahaz, or Hezekiah, or Josiah, or Zerubbabel, but that it could never be established at any time, except upon foundations of goodness and holiness among the people. His words, therefore, were no soothing message allowing spiritual sloth to find comfort in a pious fatalism; but they were a trumpet call to a holy activity.

Jesus took up, in his first preaching, the old prophetic message. The kingdom is coming, he declared; repent ye, therefore. Even if he put a somewhat new meaning upon these

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words, and said by them, the time has at last arrived and you must repent in order to share in the blessings of the kingdom sure to come, the old prophetic meaning still remained for all that. For the kingdom could not begin where there were no repentant men; and it could not grow in the world, and advance toward its perfection, faster than men should repent. That Jesus had this ever in mind is shown by the great prophetic prayer he taught his disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth." The coming of God's kingdom will, indeed, assure the doing of God's will by men; but, on the other hand, the kingdom can come only so far and so fast as men do the will of God. Repentance and righteousness alone can answer the prayer which Jesus taught us to pray. So that he proclaimed the coming of the kingdom of God quite in the way of the prophets who preceded him.

Sixthly, Jesus declared the consequences which would follow according as men did, or did not, prepare themselves for the coming of God's kingdom.

To the men of his own time he made known what should be the result of their unwillingness to believe in his gospel of the kingdom. "Ye shall see," he said to them, "Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without" (Luke 13 : 28). He also set forth the fate that should befall the rebellious nation, which had rejected every messenger of God, by saying in words of doom, "Therefore, I say unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (Matt. 21 : 43). How the fitness and unfitness of individual men of all times shall be followed with consequences, when the kingdom of God shall come in glory, Jesus declared in the words to be found in the well-known passage Matt. 25 : 31–46. These words are but the old prophetic message in louder and clearer tones. They sound not unlike what we may read in the book of one of the oldest of the prophets: "I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all the nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth. All the sinners of my people shall

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die by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us" (Amos 9:9–10).

Thus was Jesus the last and greatest of Israel's prophets. The history of the nation as the covenant people began with the words of God and its first prophet at Sinai; it came to its close with the dying words of its last and greatest prophet, who was also its God, at Calvary.

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THE HILLTOPS OF PALESTINE.

By Rev. George E. Merrill, D.D.,
Newton, Mass.

The hilltops of Palestine present two marked features to the view of modern travelers: first, the "cities set on the hills," the abodes of the living; second, the *welys*, or tombs of saints, built upon summits otherwise bare, the abodes of the dead.

It must be supposed that the original reason for choosing the tops of hills for the sites of cities and villages was their adaptability to defense. Other and secondary advantages may have been gained, as the greater comfort and health to be secured from the elevated station, avoiding the stifling heat of the valleys and the dampness of the plains at certain times of the year. But doubtless the prime reason was that of defense. A town thus placed could see the approach of a foe, prepare for the onset earlier, and repel more successfully the assault. Neighboring towns could combine their efforts with more facility, communicating with each other by signals, than if they were in valleys with hills intercepting the view between them. But few conspicuous exceptions are found—the seacoast cities; Jericho, in the plain of the Jordan, always weak and never successfully resisting a siege; Shechem, in the deep hollow between Ebal and Gerezim, having no military advantage, but central and near the chief sanctuary of the Samaritans; Gaza, the oasis city of the south, like Damascus, the oasis city of the north, commercial centers that depended for their very existence upon the abundant waters of their sites, and upon the conjunction of great roads binding nations together. Other names will occur to the reader, but by far the largest number of towns are seen upon strategic heights, if not so conspicuous as Safed, yet well placed, like Jerusalem itself, to repel assault.

It is not strange that "the strength of the hills" should have

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impressed itself upon the dwellers of the land, a strength of immensity and immobility, to which was added a military value. Everywhere else, too, in Asia and Europe, particularly in southern Italy, the same preference for the sites of cities upon sum-

MODERN BETHEL

mits is found, the natural choice in times when missiles could not be hurled across spaces miles in extent, and battles must be fought hand to hand, and assaults made "in the deadly breach." And here it should be noted that the hilltops surrounding a city, at least in Palestine, were not a source of strength to it. When the Psalmist said: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my help," he did not refer to the bulwarks afforded by the heights around Jerusalem, as nearly all commentators assert, though he may have thought of rescue coming over the hills from afar. The hills around Jerusalem are a menace to the city rather than a defense. They are not precipitous; such passes

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as exist were many times threaded by armies; and the hills that rise to gentle heights above the city, so far from protecting it, afford a view of its walls and interior highly advantageous to an enemy. The real defenses of Jerusalem were its valleys and the walls crowning the crests of their rocky edges. The valleys of the Kidron and Gihon were really gigantic fosses that foiled every foe, except when their natural strength bred an over-confidence, as when David's men crept up by the water gullies, as Wolfe's did at Quebec, and found the heights unguarded. Even Titus declared after taking the city that its natural defenses; combined with its walls and towers, made it well-nigh impregnable, and that he never could have taken it without the direct aid of the gods! The whole military strength of the city lay in its own hills, not in those around it. There seems to be only one passage, Ps. 125:1, 2, in which the surrounding mountains are regarded as a defense to Jerusalem, and even here the first reference is to the security of Mount Zion in itself: "They that trust in the Lord are as Mount Zion, which cannot be moved, but abideth forever. As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people." But Dean Stanley (quoted by Perowne *in loco*) quotes from Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, VI, 5, 1), and infers, wrongly I think, that in the understanding of the Jews the phrase included the steep Moabite hills beyond the Jordan, which "always seemed to rise as a wall against invaders from the remote east." But if the inference is wrong, it yet shows the difficulty of regarding the *immediate* environment of hills as a protection. Better would it be to refer the expression in general to the whole range on which the city stood, or other hill-towns, needing reduction before an enemy could successfully assail the Holy City. Such towns were many, "fenced cities," like Bethel, Gibeah, Gibeon, Mizpeh, Ramah, Bethlehem, and some of their names are words signifying a hill.

But if the military explanation for such passages fails us, we have another far more significant in the selection of the hilltop as a place of special sanctity. Long before David or the time of any of the Psalms, and in the religious schemes of many nations, the "high places" were the abode of the gods. Intimately

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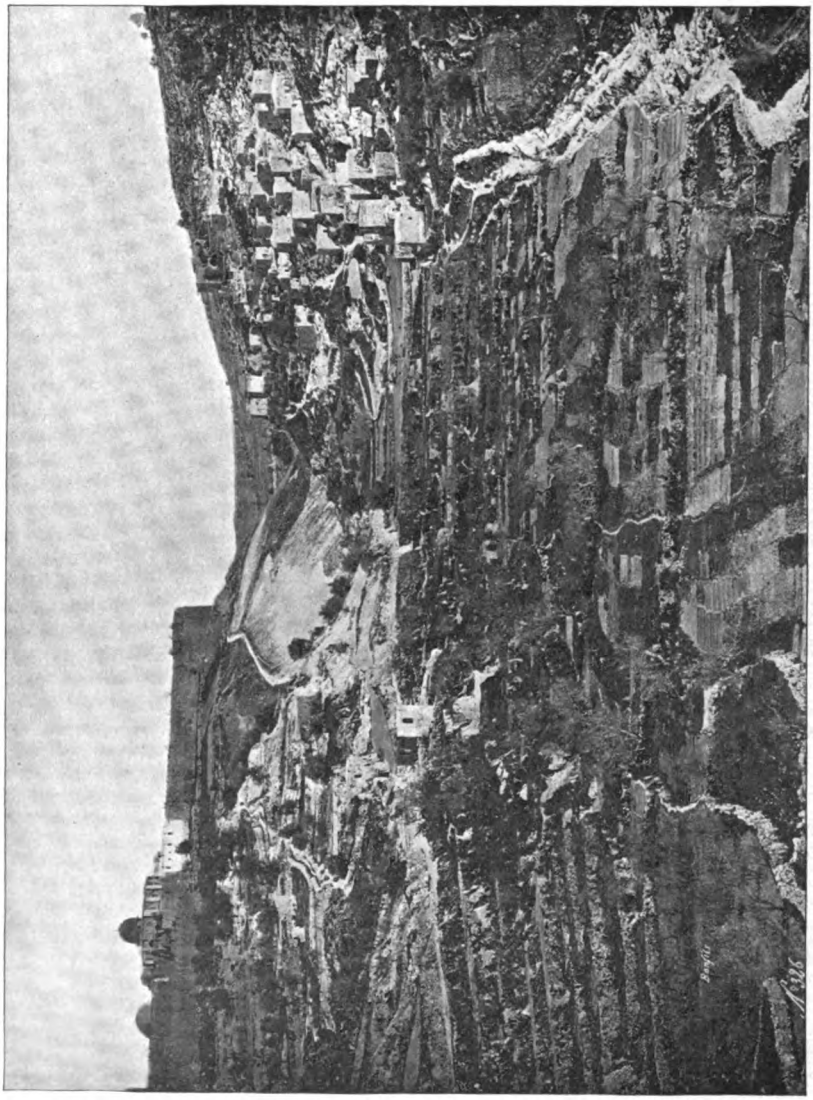

VALLEY OF THE KIDRON FROM THE SOUTH

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associated with the idolatries of the heathen, such sanctuaries were strictly forbidden to monotheistic Israel, and the altars and groves upon the summits were destroyed, or left to the devotees of foreign cults who, from time to time, came into the land. Ahab's Canaanitish queen reared temples and planted groves to the deities of her own people. And Solomon's defection lay in suffering his Egyptian princess to pollute in like manner the slopes east of Jerusalem, while he joined the worship of her false gods with that of Jehovah. Time had been when it was a comparatively innocent act to erect such places of worship, as Abraham and Noah, Gideon and Manoah, and even much later Samuel and Saul and David and Elijah had so done with the divine sanction; but more and more it came to mean idolatry and every base form of worship, and the practice was forbidden. Nevertheless the nations around continued it, and Israel was never without the knowledge of groves and high places as the reputed abode of deity.

Now the *wely* of today is the remote relic of the ancient customs. It is true that the *wely* is a Mohammedan structure, and it cannot embody the ideas of idolatry as the ancient high places did. The sanctity of the *wely* is rather that of the holy dead, for it is the burial place, real or honorary, of some revered religious man. It is not always on a hilltop, but that is its most favored position, as *Kubbet esh Shuhadah*, the Dome of the Witnesses, is on the Mount of Olives, the *wely* of *Abu Ismain* (Ishmael) on Gerezim, the *wely* Siman at Nazareth, and the tomb of Jonah at Halhul (as well as at two other places also). But wherever found upon a hilltop it is so placed on account of the old idea that such a "high place" is especially appropriate to a sanctuary. The pilgrim on the plain lifts up his eyes to the hills, and, seeing one of these white tombs afar off, stoops and builds a little pile of stones by the wayside in token of his reverence. As the *wely* is the remote descendant of the high place, so the pilgrim's little pile of stones is the poor imitation of the pillars set up at Jordan and at Bethel to commemorate the signal presence and revelation of God. Generally at least one tree stands beside the *wely*, and this is the lone survivor of the grove

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of ancient time. The people regard the precincts of the tomb and tree as sacred ground. Articles left in the shadow of either are as safe as under lock and key. No robber would dare molest them, for they are under the mysterious protection of the holi-

WELY ON MOUNT GEREZIM

ness, the divinity of the place. A poor woman gathers sticks for her winter fuel, and, leaving them under the white walls on the hilltop until winter, is sure of her fire when the cold days come. A sleeper beneath the shade of the tree fears no robber. In many cases he who puts the slightest dishonor upon the shrine is in danger of his life. I witnessed at Joseph's tomb near Sychar an instance of such feeling, when our guide had thrown down a few stones from an adjacent wall, that we might view the interior through a window. A frightful noise suddenly arose, and it was found that a dumb man, "possessed," as in the

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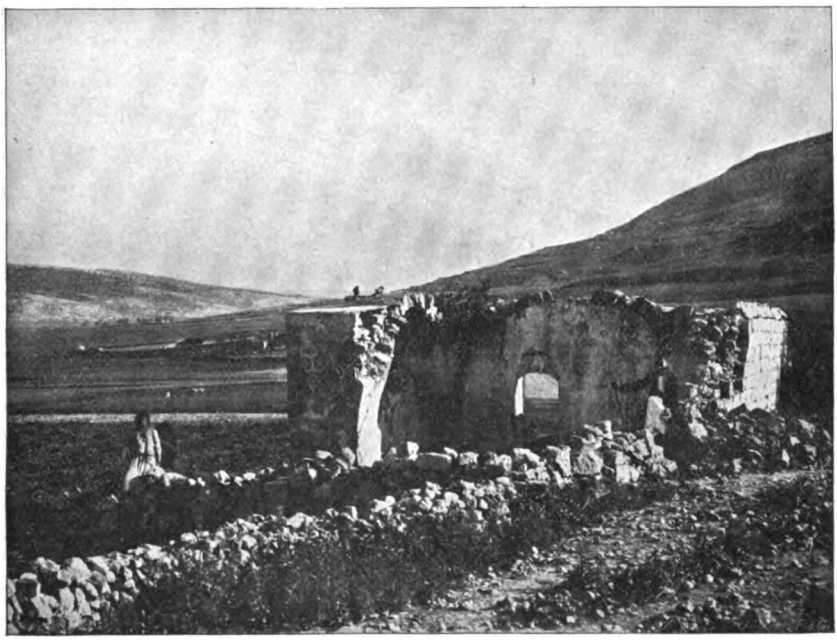
Savior's time, was bitterly angered by the sacrilege, and in his intense excitement was uttering his horrible cries.

Now, with such feelings and such relics today as the remote witnesses to the ancient sentiment and customs, it is easy to read



TOMB OF JOSEPH

the Psalmist's word in a new light. "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my help," Ps. 121 : 1, 2. "As all other men turn to their sacred heights, so will I turn, but with far different thoughts, for *my* help cometh from Jehovah, which made heaven and earth. It is he who will not suffer thy foot to be moved, and it is he who, watching over Israel, slumbers not, nor sleeps. I need no outcry, no clashing of cymbals, to awaken my God, and no lascivious dance nor shameful offering is required to please him. He is not Baal; my God is not Ashtoreth: my God is the Lord, and the hills themselves, yes, and

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the stars above them, are of his creation. He is my helper, and even the shadow of his presence is safety and peace." "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of Jehovah, he

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is my fortress, my refuge, my God, in him will I trust (Ps. 91:1, 2), not in any power less holy, nor in any god of the nations."

It may be that the hills of Jerusalem itself, crowned with the gleaming temple, are the summits before the eyes of this singer. It may be that from Jerusalem he was looking forth upon some distant grove not yet destroyed by the hostility of Israel's faith. It may be that he saw only in mind the innumerable hilltops in all the idolatrous world around him, and so contrasted with them his own vision of One God, Israel's Jehovah. But, whatever the

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conditions, is it not clear that he sang not so much with the thought that his God was greater than any man or army of men that might come from over the hills, as with the feeling that his God was greater than any gods? "O give thanks unto the God of gods, for his mercy endureth forever" (Ps. 136:2). "Before the gods will I sing praises unto thee, I will worship toward thy holy temple" (Ps. 138:2). Not toward their temples profane and hateful will I worship, but towards the heights of Zion, the temple of Jehovah. If the sanctity of the "high place" is so great even in this remote day, we may have some idea of what it was to the heathen whose gods dwelt in that lofty seclusion, and of how much greater holiness his high place must have been to a devout and spiritual Israelite, who knew that his God was above all gods, and that even the heaven of heavens could not contain him.

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THE SPECULATIVE VALUE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION (HIEROLOGY).

By MERWIN-MARIE SNELL.

THE science of comparative religion, or hierology, is divisible into two parts, the morphology and the history of religions. Morphology is the science of form; in the morphological study of religious facts they are considered in themselves without any regard to the element of time, which in the historical study of them receives the chief attention. Take, for instance, the practice of sacrifice; religious morphology describes the details of the rite, while religious history follows the development of the sacrificial idea in its various forms of votive gift, burnt offering, human sacrifice, etc., ascertaining the origin of each variation, and of the central notion itself. Or suppose that there is question of the mechanical devices used in prayer; religious morphology would describe the rosaries of the Mohammedans and Catholics and Buddhists, and the methods of using them; the praying wheels and flags and mills and walls of the Chinese; and the *barçom*, or bundle of consecrated twigs used by the Parsees in their devotions. Religious history would try to discover whether or not the prayer beads of the different religions had a common origin, and might perhaps find their germ in some simple mnemonic system, such as the *quipa*, or knotted cords, of the Peruvians. It might discover that prayer flags began with the strips of cloth hung upon the trees at the rural spirit shrines, and that the first step toward the prayer wheel and the "praying" wall and mill was the placing of religious mottoes upon useful utensils and machinery.

It will be easily seen that these two forms of the study of religions cannot be considered as distinct branches of the science, for neither of them can be treated to the exclusion of the other. A series of morphological studies, arranged in

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chronological order, would constitute a historical record, or at least furnish the materials for one; while an ethnic or geographical series of historical facts would be a study in the religious morphology of the race or region. To recur to the example before given, a successive description of the rough pebbles used by the Tartar shaman in his incantations, the twigs held by the Parsee at prayer, the string of unassorted beads used by the Buddhist friar or the Norse saga man, and the complicated rosary devotion of the modern Catholic, would at once appear to be a history of the development of the rosary; while a paper describing the historical facts regarding the use of the *barçom* twigs by the ancient Parsee or Mazdean, together with his veneration of the elements, his worship of the *homa* plant, his purificatory rites, his fear of the Evil One, and his adoration of the Great Spirit, would be nothing more nor less than an essay on the morphology of the Mazdeism of that epoch to which the account referred.

But the morphological and historical aspects of religions have very different kinds of significance to the thinking student. The value of religious morphology is above all theological, while the principal worth of religious history is philosophical, in the wider sense of that word.

The morphological study of religions ministers to theology by showing the relative excellence of the religious systems of the world. It determines in a direct manner their relative scientific position by applying to them the laws which hold good in all kinds of organic integration. For example, it is a law of biology that the higher an organism the greater its organic unity. Many of the lowest forms of animal life, or protozoa, can be cut into innumerable pieces without affecting their vitality, each portion becoming a complete animal. As we go higher we find a gradually increasing unification, so that, while in lower forms there are several nervous centers, and even a number of bodily segments of about the same size and importance as the brain and head, we find in man a completely dominant brain, and the most perfect individuality. If the same law be applied to religions in their doctrinal aspect, we find that the Christian

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system, which has its center and justification and very essence in the single personality of Jesus Christ, is, whether true or false, scientifically superior to any other system in which several divinities, or men, like the segments of the centipede, hold an approximately equal place.

The morphology of religions cannot itself make any comparison of them according to their degree of spirituality, or veracity, or practical efficiency; but it furnishes materials for such a comparison. When the self-centered asceticism of the *bhikshu*, or Buddhist friar, is described side by side with the *bhakti*, or emotional faith or trust of the Vishnuite Krishna worshipers, with its five stages of peace, service, friendship, filial affection, and fond attachment to deity, the latter is at once seen to be the more spiritual. When the sober narratives of the Chinese classics are compared with the extravagances of the *Saddhârma Pandarika*, or "Lotus of the Good Law" (one of the best-known Buddhist books of the Nepâlese canon), the former commend themselves at once to the historical sense by their far greater verisimilitude. When the Vedantist doctrine that the whole universe, including every human being, is a part of Brahma, and that the true aim of every man should be to free himself from the illusion that he has any separate existence, is compared with the Mazdean and Christian teaching of an eternity of punishment for the wrongdoer, and an everlasting blessedness, which may begin even upon this earth, through an eternally conscious communion with deity, it becomes evident in a moment that the latter will be most efficient, both as a moral incentive and deterrent, as a strength and solace in the midst of the sorrows inseparable from human existence, and as a nourishment to that spiritual sense which is of the very essence of every human soul.

It was said at the outset that while the value of the morphology of religions is chiefly theological, that of their historical study is before all philosophical. But the word "philosophical" is not to be used in the sense of "metaphysical." By the term "philosophy," in such a connection as this, is meant the study of the ideas, principles, or laws which bind facts together, and

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by which alone they can be adequately interpreted. Every group of facts, however trivial, may be philosophically studied. It is characteristic of what may be called the new education to as far as possible teach and study facts always in relation to the ideas which lie behind them. In former days it was considered enough to store the mind with vast numbers of isolated data, as one would stock a lumber yard; but now it is seen that facts are comparatively worthless until built up into a living structure of thought, and that few minds are strong enough, at any rate in their early stages, to assimilate entirely inorganic materials, any more than our stomachs could utilize the chemical constituents of the soil until they had been organized for use in the plant and the animal. Hence it is that history is coming to be subordinated to the philosophy of history. From a dry chronicle of dynastic changes, wars, treaties, and public works, history is becoming the drama of progress, a vivid portrayal and explanation of the thoughts and sentiments and life and environment of peoples in all their changing phases.

It is the philosophy of history which alone gives real significance to its records, and the key to the philosophy of history is the history of religions. What would be the value of a philosophical discussion of the history of the Hebrew people which did not dwell first and foremost upon its religious history? And the histories of Egypt, of Chaldea, of Persia, of India, of China, of Christian Europe, of pre-Columbian Mexico, and in fact of all the nations of antiquity and most of those which exist to our day, are equally bound up with their religions. Some difference of opinion exists as to the degree in which intellectual and material development is dependent upon religious beliefs. It is my personal conviction that religion is the determining factor in the fate of nations as well as of individuals. It is only the history of religions which is competent to settle this question. But no one can deny that in the most ancient times of which any record remains to us religion was closely involved in all individual thought and life, and entered into the very structure of the body politic. Kings ruled as the representatives of their patron deities, and in many places pow-

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erful priesthoods held most of the civil as well as religious power. A large proportion of the inhabitants of the world are to this day ruled by their sorcerers, priests, medicine men, or other religious leaders. Consequently no philosophy of social or political history could be complete which did not take into account the all-important factor of religion.

The science of ethnology, too, depends upon the history of religions for many facts which are essential to a true interpretation of the disintegration and fusion of populations and a proper understanding of their several customs and characters. It was religion that brought out the great progenitor of Israel from Chaldea and made him "a father of many nations;" it was religion that divided India against itself and left it an easy prey to the western invaders; it is religion that has so long soldered together the diverse populations of the Celestial Empire; it was religion which united the Semitic tribes into a world-threatening power; it is religion which has given a moral unity to Europe and produced that foremost civilization which is known to all the world as Christian.

The dependence of popular customs upon religious notions is well known. Even our children's games are, many of them, survivals of religious ceremonies. The daily life of the individual, the adjustments of domestic relations, and the very details of food, drink, clothing, washing, exercise, and labor have always been largely, if not wholly, determined by religious considerations.

The Mazdean and the Jew and the Buddhist were only allowed to eat certain food at certain times and in a certain way; the Hindu and the Moslem and the Catholic have their own peculiar days and periods of fasting and abstinence; the Buddhist and Christian friars, the clergy of many religions, and all the adherents of some, were required to wear certain prescribed clothing; the Jew, the Parsee, the Brahmin, and the Catholic wear various badges of devotion upon their persons, such as phylacteries, sacred cords, scapulars, and medals; the Jew and the Moslem are required by their religion to wash upon frequent occasions; Judaism and Christianity prescribe periodic

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abstention from manual labor; and these illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied.

When we pass from the individual and collective life of the people to the products of their thought and fancy and manual dexterity, we still find religion as their chief inspiration. Witness the architectural monuments of antiquity. In the valleys of Siberia and the jungles of Hindustân are the ruined temples of forgotten creeds; in Egypt and Chaldea may be seen the fanes in which were worshiped the gods of paganism, and perhaps the very God of the patriarchs and of all humanity, thousands of years before the Christian era; in the mountains of India, on the fields of Britain, beneath the accumulated débris of successive civilizations in Greece and Italy and Asia Minor—everywhere and always the temple, the shrine, the sacred image.

At first sculpture and painting were consecrated to the service of the gods. Just as painting and sculpture and decorative art are the children of architecture, so likewise music and poetry and tragedy and comedy and melodrama and eloquence seem to have been the outgrowth of the ceremonial dance, which at first was probably an instinctive expression of adoring joy. In classical antiquity this group of euphonic arts originated in the dithyrambus, or choral hymn, in honor of the god Dionysus. In Christendom likewise they first made their appearance for the most part as accessories to worship or media of religious instruction.

Not only the life and art, but the literature and philosophy of the world have been from time immemorial the handmaids of religion. All the most ancient literary remains are full of the religious spirit, and most of them have a distinctively sacred character. Such, in ancient Chaldea, were the inscriptions of Telloh (written between 3500 and 4500 B. C.), the Legend of the Creation (the earliest rendition of which thus far discovered dates from about 2500 B. C.), and the Descent of Ishtar into Hades (probably of equal antiquity); such, in Egypt, the Precepts of Ptah-hotep (about 4000 B. C.), and the Book of the Dead (before 3000 B. C.); in India the Rig Veda Mantra; in Persia the Yasna Gâthas (both of these supposed by many to

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have been composed in great part before 1500 B. C.), and in Syria the early books of the Hebrew Bible.

While secular art and literature appear to have always originated from their religious counterparts, philosophy was certainly in its early stages identical with theology. Philosophy and theology grew up together, by a process of analysis, classification, and deductive reasoning, out of the uncorrelated and, as it were, floating ideas, highly religious in their collective coloring, of which men were at first possessed, and became more and more distinct as the analytic process advanced. It is not possible for them to be entirely separated without the more or less complete suppression of one or the other; and an adequate history of the intellectual side of religions would be almost identical with the history of philosophy.

The close relation thus pointed out between religion on the one hand and social organization and customs, art, literature, and philosophy on the other shows the vast importance of the study of religions, not only as an indispensable means to the proper understanding of the history and relations of these things, but also as the most profound and important of all psychological investigations, and the only key to the problem of human evolution.

Perhaps the most burning question of anthropological science is this: whether the mental, moral, and spiritual faculties of man, as they now exist, are the result of a gradual development out of a primitive state of pure animality, or simply of an unfolding and exercise of faculties already possessed in a high degree of power by the first members of the human race. Closely connected with this is the theory, to which I have already referred, that all human progress is directly proportionate to the degree of union of the human will with the divine. According to this hypothesis, even though there be a process of cosmic evolution as the product of the divine creative activity, any intelligent creature who permits himself to diverge, in even the slightest degree, from the truth and law of God just so far fails to receive and transmit the onward and upward impulse. So the current of human progress is always strongest where the

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divine light is brightest; and nations sink into barbarism just in proportion as they fall away from true religion. This theory, which, if true, will be a generalization of the greatest value for the proper understanding of the vicissitudes of civilization and culture, can only be tested by the instrumentality of the history of religions, a fact which in itself should be sufficient to make us realize the fundamental importance of that study.

After this review of what may be called the theoretical utility of hierological science, it must be added by way of reservation that this science is still so young and undeveloped that no one is justified in speaking authoritatively in its name upon the greater problems upon which it can be brought to bear. But with these fascinating and important problems confronting us, and knowing that their final answer is in the keeping of this inchoate science, with what eagerness will we thrust ourselves into it, in the hope that even amid the confusion of its yet fragmentary and unclassified materials it may be our lot to catch at least some prophetic glimpse of the desired solutions!

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PROFESSOR McGIFFERT ON THE APOSTOLIC AGE.[1]

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
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The appearance of this volume so shortly after that of Harnack's *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, and especially the similarity of the two in most important matters of chronology, will serve to deepen the interest aroused in the study of the apostolic age already awakened by that and other works, especially those of Weizsäcker and O. Holtzmann. It would, however, be unfair to Professor McGiffert were the similarities between his positions and those of his teacher (as he generously calls Harnack) to be interpreted as resulting from the devotion of a member to a master of a school. Professor McGiffert's positions are independently sustained, and, as the preface points out, in several vital matters he differs from Harnack. This independence of opinion, as well as the character of the volume in general, makes it, on the whole, the most notable addition to theological literature on the side of critical church history and New Testament criticism as yet made by any American. If, therefore, we feel obliged to differ with some of its main positions such dissent by no means should be interpreted as evincing a lack of appreciation of its method and spirit, or dissent from most of its conclusions.

1. The first matter for which the student of New Testament times looks in a work of this sort is the author's general critical position as regards Acts. No book of the New Testament has of late years received more attention as a possible key to a proper criticism of its period as a whole. And, indeed, any scientific historical work is impossible that is not based upon an examination of sources. Professor McGiffert has a critical theory as to Acts, which he uses constantly and consistently, but which is introduced incidentally in connection with the discussion of various incidents. It is not easy, therefore, to disentangle the criteria upon which it is based, or the theory

[1] *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age.* By ARTHUR CUSHMAN McGIFFERT, Ph.D., D.D., Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. (International Theological Library). New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. Pp. xii + 681. $2.50 net.

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itself as a whole. Such a method has its advantages, but it sometimes leaves the reader without clear views as to the worth of the grounds upon which one element of a narrative is taken and another rejected, and often exposes the author to the charge of subjectivity. In certain portions of his work this suspicion is somewhat supported by the author's occasionally dismissing some element in his source with the bald statement that it is "improbable," or that it "could not" be true. In fact, although it is by no means true that Professor McGiffert is moved frequently by dogmatic reasons, it would be strange if in some instances such a charge were not brought against him simply from the lack of any comprehensive statement of his critical position as a whole.

So far as the composition of Acts is concerned, Professor McGiffert holds as follows: The book is made up from various sources, chief among which are the "we" sections. It is by no means clear that these are a part of a larger source that underlies the whole of Acts, or even of the second half. The sources of the earlier portion of the work are derived from primitive Christian documents, but in no place have the epistles of Paul been used. These sources have been freely reworked by the author of Acts, who has not hesitated to represent the organization of the primitive church as conforming to that of later days (pp. 44*n*, 92*n*, 97, 109, 255), or to misrepresent, perhaps through ignorance, other features of the early era of Christianity (pp. 52*n*, 74, 83*n*, 84*n*, 99, 100, 120, 255, 260*n*, 268, 274). But in such reworking the author is not moved by any desire to conciliate two wings of Christianity, as the Tübingen school claim (p. 430). His work is no mere aggregation of documents, but a unified and artistic history, intended to defend Christianity from persecution by showing it to have been regarded as harmless by Roman officials (pp. 346, 348).

As to the author and date of the book, Professor McGiffert is somewhat in doubt. Indeed, at times it seems as if his views had varied during the production of his work — a possibility perhaps explaining the difference of terminology and implications in different portions of the book. Thus it would appear from pages 47 and 95*n* as if the author of Acts presents a conception of the office of the apostles current in the second century, while on page 437 he is represented as most probably writing during the persecution of Domitian. Something like vagueness of terminology attaches to the name of the author himself. Although he is repeatedly spoken of as Luke, Professor McGiffert holds that he could not have been Luke, for Acts was not written by a disciple of Paul (p. 433). The reason for this view is that the author of

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Acts could not have been the author of the "we" sections, as he is too ignorant of events in the primitive church, the life of Paul, and also of the doctrine of Paul (pp. 237, 462). It is at this point that Professor McGiffert's criticism is a trifle disappointing. The Lukan authorship of the work, as a whole, rises and falls with the relations of the "we" sections to the rest of the book. If evidence is at hand that the literary characteristics of their author are present throughout Acts, the conclusion is inevitable that he himself wrote, or at least edited, the book as a whole. If, in addition to such evidence, the omission of certain elements one might expect to be present can be reasonably explained by the general structure of the book, it is difficult to see why the traditional authorship should not be admitted. It is impossible here to present fully the grounds upon which it seems necessary to assent to each of these propositions, but they may be briefly stated as follows: (1) A minute study of the diction, as well as the grammatical structure and peculiarities of the narrative portions of Acts, shows an astonishing similarity between all sections of the book no matter what the apparent sources whence they are derived, and the "we" sections. (2) The same is true to a less degree of the speech material of Acts, it being also probable that if the writer composed the earlier speeches of Peter and Paul (as well as the first account of the latter's conversion) from older materials, he did it freely and with many of the literary peculiarities of the author of the "we" sections. (3) The Hebraisms or other local peculiarities, either in vocabulary or description, which occur in connection with these common characteristics, are most naturally explained as arising from the author's devotion to his sources — a trait also of the writer of the third gospel.

In a brief, the admitted unity of plan in Acts points to an author who handled all the material the book contains. The "we" sections are admittedly an original source. But their characteristics are to be found elsewhere in Acts, and in passages which seem distinctly the work of its author. Can it be possible that this author is a man who has so come under the influence of the "we" passages as to write in a style that is theirs? Is it not far more probable that he is himself the author of these sections?

Now Professor McGiffert expressly admits (p. 239 *n*) the "identity of diction between the 'we' passages and the other parts of the book, and the lack of any sign of a break between the former and their immediate context," while of the instances cited by him to prove Luke's ignorance of the latter part of Paul's career there is not one

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that either cannot readily be explained by a reference to his general literary method and purpose, so well brought out by Professor Ramsay (and recognized by Professor McGiffert) or overcome by some chronological or critical position rejected by Professor McGiffert without apparently sufficient grounds. Further, so far as Luke's ignorance of primitive Christianity is concerned, it is easy to account for it in the case of a man writing in the time of Domitian, when he was of necessity dependent upon fragmentary traditions or documents; while his non-acquaintance with the biographical elements of Galatians can be accounted for by the facts that the letter was written when the author of the "we" section was not with Paul, and the probability that Luke never was in Galatia. In this connection it is worth noticing that on the assumption of the Lukan authorship, it is possible to discover almost the very day and place when Luke received his information of Paul's affairs subsequent to his leaving Troas for the first time. One cannot help feeling that Professor McGiffert has really thrown up his brief in recognizing the strength of the arguments against a second century authorship of Acts, since most of the difficulties connected with such a view are really to be found in a non-Lukan authorship in the time of Domitian. Also, the admitted literary ability of the author of Acts consorts ill with the clumsy use of the "we" section in case he did not himself write them. And is not the omission of facts from Paul's letters, in that it implies a limited circulation of those letters, in itself an argument for an early author?

While thus we are led to differ with Professor McGiffert's denial of the Lukan authorship of Acts, we are naturally in hearty agreement with his refusal to follow Weizsäcker in discrediting the book's historical value. While occasionally we cannot agree with either his rejection or his admission of materials, on the whole it is gratifying to find in the volume such a sober handling of Acts. In this particular Professor McGiffert is true to the semi-conservative movement in criticism that promises so much for historical reconstructions.

II. In the chronology of the life of Paul, Professor McGiffert is in substantial (though not by any means complete) agreement with O. Holtzmann and Harnack. The conversion of Paul is placed in 31 or 32, the Apostolic Council in 45 or 46, the second missionary journey in 46–49, the arrest of Paul in 53, his journey to Rome in 55–56, his imprisonment there in 56–58, and his death in 58. In this chronology, as will be noted presently, he also changes the succession of events as well as dates.

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This chronology suggests a number of questions, two of which should be considered. First, in his date of Paul's conversion, Professor McGiffert has yielded to weighty data and brought the event back closer to the death of Jesus. There is everything in favor of such a retrogression, even if one holds (as Professor McGiffert does not) to a distinct visit to Jerusalem at the time of the famine, and a later visit described in Acts 15. There is nothing in either Acts or Galatians pointing to the lapse of several years between the death of Jesus and the conversion of Paul. On the contrary, the whole impression left by the account in Acts is that of a brief period. One query alone suggests itself. Is not more weight to be given to the chronological datum of the absence of Roman coins of Damascus between 33–62 than is allowed on page 164 *n*?

The second element of this chronology is its focal point, the succession of Festus to Felix as procurator of Judea. Professor McGiffert's argument here is very forcible, and its somewhat notable silence as to the testimony of Eusebius is no element of weakness. No one can deny that the harmonization of Josephus and Tacitus at this point is very much of a riddle — indeed is impossible if all data given by both are retained. In the two chief features in the problem — the length of the administration of Felix and the rôle of Pallas — Professor McGiffert follows Tacitus rather than Josephus. As regards the first, he acutely argues that a trace of the former governorship of Felix, mentioned by Tacitus, may be found in the acquaintance between Felix and the high priest Jonathan implied by the latter's recommendation of the former as a successor of Cumanus. Thus the events mentioned by Josephus as belonging to the procuratorship of Felix might belong to a previous official period, and might not therefore argue a long administration prior to his removal. Yet even this can hardly explain how Tacitus should represent Felix and Cumanus as co-governors and Josephus explicitly state that Felix succeeded Cumanus. It is dangerous — though nowadays not unprecedented — to assail the accuracy of the Roman historian, but his description of Cumanus as governor of Galilee while Felix was governor of Samaria and Judea certainly is not without its difficulties. Such a division of the province is unknown to Josephus, who was on the ground, and on every consideration appears highly improbable. Evidence that such a prolongation of the separate administration of the tetrachate of Herod Antipas is utterly wanting, while the whole process by which parts of it came into the possession of Agrippa II, as well as the administration of the region at the time

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when Josephus attempted to organize it in rebellion against Rome, imply — though not very distinctly it must be admitted — that it was regarded as an integral part of the procuratorial district of Judea. The division given by Tacitus involves, further, an equality of rank between Felix and Cumanus. Were there, then, *two* procuratorial districts? Or were both the lieutenant-governors subject to a real procurator of whom we know nothing? Either alternative seems equally impossible, especially since the grounds given by Josephus as those on which Cumanus was removed — disorders in Judea and Samaria — argue that his administration was not restricted to Galilee and are too circumstantial to be rejected.

Mommsen, *Staatsverwaltung*, iv, 412, follows Josephus, simply referring to Tacitus in a footnote; but in *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 220, he follows Tacitus but without giving his reasons. If we knew more about the Jewish toparchy it might be possible to say that Felix was in charge of one under Cumanus. In such a case it would not be difficult to explain how Tacitus fell into error, and how Jonathan became acquainted with Felix. But not only is it difficult to prove that the toparchy was administered by a Roman official, but, even if Felix had held such an office, it would hardly explain the account of Josephus and the words of Paul.

Thus, so far as the succession of Felix himself is concerned, we are led to regard Tacitus as less trustworthy than Josephus. Felix was the successor of Cumanus, and we are forced to put the events assigned his administration by Josephus immediately before his removal, though not of necessity exclusively in the reign of Nero. But whether or not partly in the reign of Claudius, these events could very well justify the "many years" of Paul.

This, it will be argued, is impossible if Felix was acquitted by the influence of Pallas. By no means. Felix might have been aided by Pallas, who we know remained rich, without the latter's being in favor with Nero, and this last is the only chronological datum in this connection that Tacitus affects. If Josephus was mistaken in regard to this mere fact of Pallas' influence, all difficulty disappears. And knowing how liable is Josephus in his zeal to find causes of events to mistake as regards them, especially in those that involve personal influence, to say nothing of the fact that the introduction of an unimportant episode like this, happening in Rome and described incidentally years after its occurrence, could hardly be based upon careful investigation, and further, remembering how liable one writing years

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after the event would be to make the mistake, it can hardly appear impossible that Josephus has erred in making the success of Pallas in bringing about the acquittal of his brother depend upon the favor of Nero. Pallas was abundantly able, even after his dismissal from office, both from wealth and prestige, to accomplish such a result.

By thus following each author in matters concerning which he would be least liable to error and disregarding all others, we arrive at the following conclusions: (1) Felix succeeded Cumanus in 52 or 53. (2) His administration was filled with disorder and extended through several years. (3) After his removal from office he was accused by the Jews, whom he had sent to Rome to get the imperial decision as regards the dispute at Cæsarea, was tried, and acquitted through the influence of Pallas, although the latter was no longer in office or favor.[1]

But, there are also difficulties involved in the very data upon which Professor McGiffert bases the date of the recall of Felix. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 13 : 14) Pallas was disgraced before the fourteenth birthday of Brittanicus, *i. e.*, February 13, 55. But it is clear that Paul's departure for Rome was shortly after the accession of Festus, and just before winter. Both of these events, therefore, since in this view they preceded the fall of Pallas, must have occurred between the autumn of 54 and February 55. But, we can be more explicit. Nero came to the throne on October 13, 54. Between October 13, 54, and February 13, 55, must be placed the removal of Felix, the appointment of Festus by Nero (*Ant.* 20 : 8 : 9), his journey to Cæsarea, the journey of Felix to Rome, his trial and acquittal, and the fall of Pallas. The difficulty of crowding all these events into four months is apparent. Harnack, therefore, aided somewhat by Eusebius, has attempted to make the fall of Pallas in 56 rather than 55. This would obviate the difficulty were it not for the fact that Tacitus did not, as Harnack conjectures, mean the fifteenth birthday of Brittanicus when he said "fourteenth," for he gives the names of the consuls. (See Ramsay's article in *Expositor*, March 1897.) Professor McGiffert also avoids the difficulty, but by overlooking the specific data of Tacitus, simply saying that Pallas "was relieved of his offices before the end of the year 55," and that "Nero ascended the throne too late in the previous year to send Festus to Palestine before the early fall, when Paul was dispatched to Rome" (p. 357).

[1] This is on the basis largely of the account of *Antiquities* (20 : 8 : 9). According to the *Jewish War* (2 : 13 : 7) Felix had sent the embassy himself, and a decision in the question involved was not reached until the outbreak of the great revolution in 66

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It will perhaps appear as a consequence of our position that all chronological data have vanished. And it is true that one can no longer base the chronology of an apostle's life upon the dismissal of an imperial favorite, but none the less chronological data remain, more certain if less exact than those rejected. The successor of Festus, Albinus, was procurator shortly after the Feast of Tabernacles, four years before the outbreak of the Jewish war (*Jewish War* 6 : 5 : 3) which occurred in the twelfth year of Nero (*Jewish War* 2 : 14 : 4). That is, Albinus was already procurator in 62. How long he may have been in office it is impossible to say, but more probably from the summer of that year at the latest, and there is nothing in the context to forbid one making it earlier. It is evident from *Ant.* 20 : 9 : 1 that a period of at least three months elapsed between the death of Festus and the accession of Albinus, and it is therefore altogether probable that Festus died not later than in the winter of 61–62. The events of his administration include an embassy to Rome, a decision by Nero, the return of the embassy just about the time of the death of Festus, as well as other events requiring considerable time. It is therefore impossible to allow less time than one year (and portions of two would probably be more correct) for their occurrence. This brings the accession of Festus back to 59–61, and a corresponding date for the departure of Paul to Rome with the probabilities pointing towards 60—or that date which is commonly accepted. It should be noted in passing that this brings events into harmony with *Ant.* 20 : 8 : 11, when Poppea, "Nero's wife," is said to have brought about the release of ten of the Jewish ambassadors. Now, Poppea's influence began in 58 (Tacitus; *Ann.* 13 : 45, 46) and her marriage was in 62 (*Ann.* 14 : 60).

The advantages of this computation over that of Professor McGiffert and others who put the accession of Festus in 55 or 56 is this: it proceeds from definite chronological statements of Josephus and does not depend upon a sentence, or rather clause, introduced without the slightest chronological intent into a passage which, as has appeared above, is full of uncertainties, and from which it is by no means

(2 : 14 : 4). Such inconsistencies, though not beyond adjustment, strengthen the suspicion of the accuracy of the details given in the *Antiquities*. For the truth of the statements of the *Jewish War* is implied in *Ant.* 20 : 8 : 9 when the decision of the emperor obtained by Burrhus is said to have resulted in the revolution. If the acquittal of Felix was contemporaneous with the rendering of this decision in 66, the whole statement as to the influence of Pallas is to be rejected, for he was put to death in 62. Yet it is possible that although his fate was involved in the case on trial, the influence of Pallas was sufficient to bring it to a speedier decision.

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impossible to infer that the clause upon which the entire chronology depends is utterly untrue. It further does not involve one in the difficulties resulting from a comparison of Tacitus and Josephus, and gives a legitimate meaning to Paul's characterization of the length of the administration of Felix without summoning the aid of a purely conjectural assignment of events to an official career which itself may never have existed. Unless his discussion has utterly escaped our notice, Professor McGiffert makes no use of these specific chronological data of Josephus. This is to be regretted not alone on the grounds of incompleteness of induction, but also from the desire one feels of learning how on his hypothesis he would divide the time between 55 and 62.

III. In the harmonization of Acts and Galatians, Professor McGiffert has cut the Gordian knot by identifying all three accounts in Acts 11, 15 and Gal. 2. The basis for this position is that (p. 171) "it is entirely conceivable that Luke found two independent accounts of the same journey in his sources; and as the occasion was given differently in the two cases, he supposed them to refer to separate events, and inserted them at what seemed to him the proper points in his narrative." Professor McGiffert admits there are difficulties in assuming that the two accounts refer to the same visit, but Gal. 2 : 1–10 (which "must be insisted upon as certain" to refer to the same time as Acts 15 : 1 *sq.*, p. 209 *n*) seems to imply the double purpose of providing for the poor, and for Gentile Christianity. This is certainly an easy way of settling the matter, and such an assignment is in accord with the author's chronology of Paul's life. Nor can it be denied that there are traces of different sources at this point in Acts which may lend color to this critical hypothesis. But without further evidence than that adduced, such a solution of the very great difficulties presented by the relations of Acts to Galatians can hardly be regarded as removing the purely historical objections to the identification. Such a harmonization combines all the difficulties of that suggested by Professor Ramsay and that commonly accepted with others arising from the theory as to the composition of Acts involved in the critical position.

But having thus accomplished the identification, Professor McGiffert is led into an order of events which, if indeed consistent, is none the less difficult to accept. Chief among the changes this order necessitates is the making of Galatians the first of Paul's epistles, written before his second missionary journey in 46. The chief grounds

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for such a location of the letter are two (p. 227): (1) On the South Galatian theory (which, as we should expect, Professor McGiffert accepts) Paul had visited the churches in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra twice on his first missionary tour. If the letter was written after his second missionary tour, he must have visited them three times before writing the letter — a view contradicted by Gal. 4 : 13. (2) If Paul had seen the Galatian Christians between the apostolic conference and the writing of the letter, it is difficult to see why he should recount the doings of that conference. For it is incredible that he should have seen the Galatians and not have warned them against the Judaizers. Corroborating facts are discovered (pp. 227, 228) (1) in the evidently inceptive activity of the Judaizers, (2) in the quickness of the Galatian's defection, (3) in the brief interval between the visits of 4 : 13, (4) in the absence of personal greetings from Paul's companions, (5) in the fact that in none of his other epistles there is evidence that Judaizers were giving Paul trouble, implies a victory at this time, before he had begun preaching in Asia, whither he went forewarned and forearmed.

Several of these arguments, especially (5), are open to question, but apart from the harmonization of Acts and Galatians, they all depend upon the τὸ πρότερον visit of Gal. 4 : 13, which Professor McGiffert thinks occurred upon the eastward journey on the first missionary tour, the second visit being on his westward journey from Derbe. It cannot be denied that such a view is possible, but on the whole it hardly seems probable. Paul cannot be said to have visited Derbe twice on the first tour, and his letter is addressed to the churches of Galatia, not to those of the cities Professor McGiffert cites. And even if this argument be regarded as belittling the matter, one cannot escape the conviction that Paul, in the entire epistle, is thinking of his stay in the province as a whole and not in the separate cities, and also that the author of Acts regards the stops made by Paul on the return from Derbe as mere incidents in one general visit to the province — a combination of Gal. 4 : 13 and Acts, with which, singularly enough, Professor McGiffert seems inadvertantly to agree on pp. 191 and 192 *n.* Further, on the hypothesis that Galatians was thus written before the second missionary journey, the account of Timothy's circumcision is extraordinary, to say the least, and Professor McGiffert, on this ground, rejects as untrue the account of the affair in Acts 16 : 3, holding that Timothy was indeed circumcised, but that tradition has erred in accrediting the act to Paul (p. 234). But is this not rather a severe strain to put upon a view that rests finally upon such an indefinite datum as an interpre-

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tation of τὸ πρότερον? It certainly makes unintelligible such passages as Gal. 1:10 and 5:11, which are wonderfully apposite if Paul's circumcision of Timothy as a part of his ingenuous being all things to all men had given ground for the charges these verses combat. Indeed it is hard to see how other portions of Galatians could ever have been written if Paul had not given a basis for charges precisely such as the circumcision of Timothy would have suggested. If Titus had been circumcised at Jerusalem, the need of the Acts' account of Timothy as an explanation of Galatians would be weakened, but Professor McGiffert rejects such an explanation of the troublesome passage in Gal. 2:3-5 (p. 196). And as to tradition's having made Paul perform the deed Timothy's parents or friends had already accomplished, one cannot help thinking that such a supposition is highly improbable, not only since Acts was written in the days of Domitian, but also from its total lack of motive. A Paulinist — even in the limited sense in which Professor McGiffert regards the author of Acts (p. 463) — or a semi-Pauline Christianity could hardly be expected to produce the story to support an outgrown short-lived anti-Paulinism — especially if, as Professor McGiffert, in accounting for the absence of controversy over Judaism in non-canonical Christian literature, expressly says (p. 443), "that Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, were entirely free from the obligation to observe the law of Moses, simply went without saying in most parts of Christendom, even before the time of Paul's death, and there was no reason whatever for a Christian writer to spend either time or thought upon a question that concerned neither himself nor his brethren." In leaving this subject, reference might, perhaps, be made to another, though relatively insignificant matter. Professor McGiffert accepts Professor Ramsay's suggestion that Paul's "thorn in the flesh" was malarial fever that overcame him at Perga (p. 177); that is, apparently, in 42 (p. 319 *n*). The revelation which occurred fourteen years before 2 Corinthians (12:1-9) was written, would, therefore, have occurred in 38 or 39, that is, three or four years before the "thorn," which was intended to offset the glory of the revelation, was given. Professor McGiffert dismisses the difficulty (p. 319 *n*) with the remark that "Paul's words do not necessarily imply that the 'thorn in the flesh' was given him immediately after he had received his revelation." On the current chronology no such difficulty arises, and the passage in 2 Corinthians may be taken in its obvious sense.

IV. In treating of the last years of Paul, Professor McGiffert has given what, in many particulars, one is tempted to call the strongest

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part of his work. It would be difficult to find a clearer piece of criticism than that which deals with the pastoral epistles, or a better piece of constructive history than that based upon the results of such criticism — unless, indeed, it be the author's similar work with others of Paul's letters. The distinctness of treatment in these matters is probably due to the fact that here much better than in the author's treatment of Acts, generally admirable as it is, the reader is put more completely in possession of the critical process by which the author has reached his results. And yet one hesitates at some of the conclusions this criticism reaches — one might say, just because of the distinctness of the method. For one fears lest possibly some discordant datum, like those which have been so generally introduced in other portions of the volume, may have escaped notice. Thus one feels that the conjecture as to Peter's life in Rome (p. 591 *sq.*), though very attractive, in that it depends so largely upon a chronology we hesitate to accept is no more beyond question than the death of Paul in 58. What of the tradition that the two suffered martyrdom together, as is at least implied by Clement of Rome? Or at about the same time, as we find expressly stated in the very passage quoted by Eusebius (ii, 25) from Dionysius, which Professor McGiffert uses in proving Peter's martyrdom under Nero (p. 592 *n*)? And it is difficult to see why the words of Clement, "gathered unto Peter and Paul," used (p. 592) by Professor McGiffert in proving the same date, do not prove it as well for Paul's as for Peter's death. Similarly, also, the statement of Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* 3: 1: 1) that Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel and founding the church in Rome, can as fairly be used to prove the coworking of Paul and Peter in Rome as to prove (p. 569 *n*) that the Logia were written in Hebrew (Aramaic) not long before 70 (p. 570), and that Peter visited Rome (p. 591). And is it not a fair question whether, in the light of Irenæus, this date of the Logia is not somewhat inconsistent with Peter's (to say nothing of Paul's having been present at the same time) having been in Rome 58–64? Here again there is no difficulty in using all data if the chronology of Paul's life be not pushed back because of Josephus's incidental statement as to Pallas.

But although Paul may not have been put to death in 58, it is still an open question as to whether or not Professor McGiffert may not be correct in holding that the abrupt close of Acts is due to the fact that Paul was never released, but met his death at the end of the two years there mentioned (pp. 417-419). Of course if one holds to the genu-

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ineness of the pastoral epistles as they now stand, the question is not an open one. On their testimony we can conclude only that Paul was released and was engaged on a fourth missionary journey when arrested. But in the light of modern scholarship, until the integrity and Pauline authorship of these epistles have been established, it is much safer to regard the question of this possible release as an element in the other problem and to treat it independently. And thus treated, it cannot be denied that there is much to favor the view that Acts closes with the close of Paul's life. It would indeed be difficult to see any reason for ending the account of his relations with the Romans at this point if he and Christianity had experienced such a pronounced endorsement as an acquittal at the imperial court, if Professor Ramsay with precisely the same view as to the purpose of the book of Acts — the one great ground upon which both decisions are based—had not arrived at precisely the opposite view! And his arguments are very weighty. Yet if the author's view as regards the pastoral epistles (p. 673) — viz., that they are a reworking of genuine letters of Paul written in 51-52, which may be recovered by criticism (pp. 408,409 *sq.*) — were once admitted, although he has not given (pp. 415*n*, 416*n*, 418*n*) quite the consideration to Spitta's argument for a continuance of Paul's missionary activities we should have expected (those of Harnack not being at his disposal), there would be fewer grounds for doubting the correctness of his position. If the relations of Peter to the Roman church and Paul could be brought into harmony with the earlier date of Paul's death, this position would be considerably strengthened. But these relations can be explained quite as satisfactorily when the current chronology, and the arguments for the later missionary work of Paul, independent of the pastoral epistles, are considerable and important.

V. Taken altogether, therefore, one hesitates to yield assent to most of the changes in apostolic chronology proposed by Professor McGiffert, although the strength of his positions is at time very great. But while having thus considered what appear the most characteristic portions of the book, we cannot omit noticing several less prominent matters of detail. (1) Professor McGiffert's treatment of the movement that gave rise to the death of Stephen is not altogether what we should have expected from the statement of his preface in regard to Weizsäcker. May it not be possible that Stephen was at the head of a sort of Pauline movement before Paul, and that this was the real cause of the bitterness showed towards him and his friends by the Jews? Pro-

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fessor McGiffert's interpretation of Stephen's speech (pp. 86–89) fails to disprove that Stephen admitted the charge brought against him and proceeded to justify his position by showing that Jehovah had always been worshiped in temples not made by hands. Indeed, we venture to think, his interpretation can hardly be said to harmonize the fact that persons like those scattered by the first persecution should have found it natural to preach to Gentiles (p. 108 *n*) if they had had only Judaism to preach (p. 58, *cf.* pp, 86 and 108). The possibility of a liberal tendency among certain Hellenists in Jerusalem admitted by Professor McGiffert (p. 85), in the light of Stephen's speech and the sudden fury of the Pharisees against the church (or more likely a portion of the church, since the Apostles were apparently not involved) to say nothing of other subsequent events, seems to favor a cumulative argument of no small weight in favor of the position that Paul was in a sense a continuer of Stephen's work, and that his "gospel" had been in a measure anticipated by the Stephen-party. (2) Professor McGiffert's treatment of certain other topics connected with the life of Paul is most satisfactory. Thus, his discussion as to the distinction between a Jewish Christian's eating with Gentile Christians and acknowledging their conversion (pp. 104–6); his presentation of Paul's doctrine as to righteousness (pp. 142 *sq.*)—a discussion, by the way, distinctly superior to his introductory statement as to the teaching of Jesus; his refusal to be led off into the tempting but superficial view of Matheson as to the "development" of Paul's gospel (p. 163); his reconstruction of the period between 1 and 2 Corinthians (pp. 290 *sq.*) although one might differ from certain positions; his refusal to follow an ingenious essay into the assertion of a Pauline origin for the Lord's Supper (pp. 68 *n*, 536) although Paul may have made of it a separate meal (p. 538); his explanation of Paul's appeal to Cæsar (p. 354 *n*); his general estimate of Paul and his work (pp. 422–423, 440–445); his summary statements of the contents of the various epistles — although it is a fair question whether or not in following his belief in a Gentile destiny of the epistle to the Hebrews he has not minimized its teaching as to the priestly character of Christ (pp. 471–472); his acute discrimination between Pauline teaching and early Gentile Christianity (ch. 5), although in this connection his statements as to the non-Pauline character of the synoptic gospels seem somewhat too strong (p. 462). (3) There is space left for barely mentioning some of Professor McGiffert's positions on questions now under investigation. 1 Peter he regards as the work of a Paulinist (possibly Barnabas) who,

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better than any author of the early church had grasped the real heart of Paul's teaching (pp. 482–487). The fourth gospel was produced under the indirect influence of Paul, although its discourse (like some of Paul's own teachings are to be traced back to some word of Jesus himself (pp. 491, 492), for the gospel could have come only from one who had himself known Jesus, or had learned of him first from one of his own disciples (p. 493). Christianity made its way among the masses because they were told that they were children of God (p. 513)—although one wonders in the light of apparently opposing statements made on p. 508 just how far this statement is intended to be taken as objectively historical. All of the Pauline epistles (except the pastoral, and they in part) are genuine: Hebrews, like 1 Peter, is the work of a Paulinist who is unknown. The letter was therefore not written by Barnabas (p. 598). 1 John was written by the author of the fourth gospel, who though a Hebrew was not necessarily the apostle (p. 614). The gospel, however, is shown by recent criticism to contain a large body of genuine apostolic matter, and very possibly as it stands is the work of one of John's disciples (p. 616). 2 and 3 John if not the work of this disciple (p. 620), were certainly from the same school. The Apocalypse was written during the persecution of Domitian (p. 634) but not by the author of the fourth gospel. The utmost that can be said of its author is that "he was a Christian prophet of Jewish birth but of universalistic principles, whose name was John and who resided in Asia," who knew and was known by the churches in Asia (p. 623), and was, if not the apostle John, probably the presbyter John (p. 624). This John made large use of earlier sources although Professor McGiffert, with a non-committal reference to Professor Briggs' "careful and elaborate analysis," declines to be drawn into the discussion as to what and whence the sources were (p. 633 *n*). The epistles of James and Jude though not pseudonymous were not written by the brothers of Jesus, but by some unknown persons toward the end of the first century (p. 580 *sq.*). 2 Peter is pseudonymous and dates from the middle of the second century (p. 602).

It is impossible to consider the innumerable other questions handled by this work. A careful examination, however, will show that while Professor McGiffert has omitted the discussion of certain details (*e. g.*, in case of Paul's visit to Philippi), he has seldom or never avoided questions because of purely critical difficulties, but has given with singular conciseness and completeness the arguments which support the view he holds. If it sometimes may appear that he

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has been less concerned to give the grounds for an opposite opinion, it can well be replied that to do this fully would be to swell his work beyond limits.

In closing, a word of regret should be added that the volume contains no index of texts, and another of appreciation for the excellent bibliographies invariably attached to discussions.

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Inductive Studies in the Acts.

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THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

30–63 A. D.

SEC. 23. PAUL'S HEARING BEFORE AGRIPPA.

Acts 25:13—26:32. 60 A. D. Cæsarea.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 25:13–22, The Consultation of Festus with Agrippa concerning Paul.

Par. 2. 25:23–27, The Examination, Festus' statement of the case.

Par. 3. 26: 1–23, The Examination, Paul's Defense.

Par. 4. 26:24–29, Interruption and Conclusion of the Defense.

Par. 5. 26:30–32, Agrippa's Declaration of the Innocence of Paul.

1. Prepare a concise abstract of the material contained in this section, noting the chief facts and recounting them in your own language.

2. Write out a careful paraphrase of Paul's defense before Agrippa (26:1–23), reproducing in words of your own the thought and spirit of the apostle.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *Festus' consultation with Agrippa about Paul.*—Which Agrippa was this? Ascertain what is known about him. Over what territory was he the ruler? Investigate the relationships between Agrippa, Bernice, Drusilla and Felix (*cf.* Acts 24:24; 25:3). What was the official relation of the Jewish king Agrippa to the Roman procurator Festus? For what purpose did Agrippa come to Cæsarea in 60 A. D.? Why did Festus wish to consult with him concerning Paul? When did this hearing take place? Consider carefully Festus' presentation

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of the case to Agrippa (25 : 14–21). Compare with this the previous Acts account of the matter (25 : 1–12). Had Festus naturally supposed that Paul was guilty of some crime under the Roman law? What had the trial, however, shown to be the case (*cf.* 25 : 18, 19)? What were the religious questions about which the Jews had accused the apostle? Was Festus interested in these, or capable of passing upon them (*cf.* Acts 18 : 12–17)? Why did he nevertheless feel a duty regarding the Jewish complaint? For what reason did he propose to Paul that his case be transferred to Jerusalem (25 : 20, *cf.* 25 : 9)? Did Paul's appeal to Cæsar take his case out of Festus' hands? Of what importance then was Agrippa's opinion about Paul? Had Festus the duty of sending with Paul to Rome a statement of his case, which statement he wished to have as accurate as possible (25 : 25, 27)? Investigate this Roman custom of *litteræ dimissoriæ*. Would Agrippa, because he was a Jew (26 : 2, 3), be able to advise Festus concerning the religious accusations of the Jews against Paul? Who were assembled with the governor and the king to hear Paul's defense, and why? Who presided at this examination? Picture to yourself, as graphically and accurately as may be, the scene depicted in 25 : 23. Consider the preliminary statement of the case made to the assembly by Festus (25 : 24–27) containing three points: (1) the accusation of Paul by the Jews, (2) his own judgment of Paul's innocence under Roman law, (3) the particular reason for this examination.

2. *Paul's apology before Agrippa.*— Prepare a careful analysis of this speech of the apostle (26 : 1–23), for which the following outline may give suggestion: (1) introduction, vss. 2, 3; (2) his loyalty to strict Judaism in his early religion and career, vss. 4–11; (3) his conversion and its results, by which he was divinely led to accept and to preach the gospel, vss. 12–20; (4) his present position persecuted for advocating Christianity as the true fulfilment of Judaism, vss. 21–23. Was the address interrupted by Festus at this point (25 : 23), or had Paul completed what he wished to say? Compare this speech in detail with that given by Paul from the castle steps (Acts 22 : 1–21), as to whether both contain in general the same material, have the same point, and present the same argument. What matter is peculiar to this account of chap. 26? How did this defense before Agrippa differ from the apologetic speeches in the two trials before Felix and Festus (24 : 10–21; 25 : 8). Why the difference? Explain Paul's interpretation of the Messianic hope of Israel (26 : 6–8), Consider carefully the meaning of 26 : 9, *cf.* 1 Tim. 1 : 13; John 16 : 2. What two interpretations

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are given of 26 : 10, last clause, and which is to be accepted? Compare this account of Paul's conversion with those in chaps. 9 and 22 In the matter of the commission of Jesus to Paul (26 : 16–18) explain how it comes that the substance of the divine revelations made to Pau. at different and subsequent times (if the other accounts are correct) are here fused together, and put directly into the mouth of Jesus at the Damascus revelation. Compare 26 : 20 with Gal. 1 : 18–24. On 26 : 23 see Isa. 9 : 2; 42 : 16; 49 : 6; 60 : 2. Describe from 26 : 22, 23 Paul's attitude as a Christian toward Judaism. Consider the source and the historical trustworthiness of this account of the apostle's speech before Agrippa. What are the chief characteristics of this address?

3. *Paul's concluding words and Agrippa's decision.*— Explain Festus' impatient complaint against Paul, and consider Paul's sincere and informing reply (26 : 24–26). Were Paul's words incomprehensible to Festus because of the latter's Roman ignorance of the Jewish history and religion, his insusceptibility to high spiritual conceptions and truth, and his dislike of enthusiasm? Was Paul understood by Agrippa, to whom primarily he had been speaking? What was the purpose of Paul's appeal to Agrippa in 26 : 27? Consider carefully the meaning of Agrippa's reply (26 : 28), comparing the translations of AV and RV, and judging which interpretation gives the truer view of the situation and of the Jewish king. Who conferred together at the close of this hearing of Paul, and for what purpose? What was the general opinion expressed concerning the case (26 : 31)? What was Agrippa's decision (26 : 32) concerning Paul's innocence or guilt relative to the Jewish charges against him? Would Paul's Jewish accusers have considered Agrippa a sufficiently loyal and strict Jew to be qualified to pass an acceptable opinion on Paul's relation to Judaism? If Paul might have been released, had not the appeal to Rome been taken, as Agrippa judged, then was the appeal a mistake on Paul's part? Would Festus' report of the case to the imperial tribunal at Rome be such as quite surely to secure Paul's acquittal?

III. Observations and Teachings.

For directions as to the work to be done under this head, see the statement at this point in Sec. 20.

Literature.— Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 309–311; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chap. 42; Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chap. 22; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, sec. xviii; Bible Dictionary, articles, Agrippa, Appeal, Bernice, Cæsar, Cæsarea, Festus, Paul.

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SEC. 24. TRANSFER TO AND IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

Acts 27 : 1—28 : 31. 60–63 A.D. Cæsarea, Malta, Rome.

I. STUDY OF THE FACTS.

Let the following subclassification of the material in this section be verified, corrected, or improved:

Par. 1. 27 : 1–8, Beginning of the Voyage to Italy.
Par. 2. 27 : 9–44, The Shipwreck on the Way.
Par. 3. 28 : 1–10, Incidents of the Winter Stay in Malta.
Par. 4. 28 : 11–16, End of the Journey, and Arrival in Rome.
Par. 5. 28 : 17–22, Paul's First Conference with the Jews at Rome.
Par. 6. 28 : 23–28, Paul's Second Conference with the Jews at Rome.
Par. 7. 28 : 30, 31, Paul's Circumstances and Work during the Long Captivity.

1. Prepare an abstract of the material contained in this section.

2. Prepare a concise paraphrase of Paul's addresses to the Jews (28 : 17–28), reproducing as exactly as possible the apostle's thought and spirit.

II. TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

1. *The voyage from Cæsarea to Malta.*—In what year, and at what season of the year, was Paul sent a prisoner to Rome? How long was this after his final trial before Festus and his appeal to Cæsar? Who were Paul's Christian companions on this journey to Rome? Who was in charge of Paul as a Roman prisoner? Were there also other prisoners besides himself in the party? How was Paul treated (Acts 27 : 3), and why? Did they go on a ship bound directly for Rome, or had they changes of passage to make en route? How long did they expect the voyage would take? Indicate upon the map and describe the voyage from Cæsarea to Fair Havens. What "Fast" is referred to in 27 : 9, and what time of the year is thereby indicated? Give a brief, accurate account of the tempest and shipwreck which befell the party after leaving Fair Havens, noting especially Paul's relations to the events. On what island were they stranded? Trace on the map the course, and describe the voyage, from Fair Havens to Malta. Consider the hand of God in this voyage of his apostle. Ascertain something of the methods and means of navigation in Paul's time.

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Observe the graphic nature, completeness, and technical accuracy of the account of this voyage.

2. *The winter in Malta and journey to Rome.*—Locate upon the map and describe the island of Malta. Describe the inhabitants of the island, as to their nationality, civilization, and language. How was the shipwrecked party received by them? Consider the incident of the viper (28:3–6), Paul's escape, and the quaint superstition of the islanders regarding this. Who was Publius, and what kindness did he extend to Paul and his companions? What miracle did Paul perform at Publius' house, and why did he perform it? Were other miraculous cures wrought at this time (28:9)? How long was the stay in Malta, and when was the voyage to Rome resumed? Indicate upon the map and describe the voyage from Malta to Puteoli. From this point did they probably go by land to Rome? Trace their course on this journey. Who received Paul at Puteoli? How came there to be Christians at that place? Observe that the Christians are called "brethren" (28:14, 15). Describe Paul's meeting with the Roman Christians who came out to welcome him on his approach to that city. Why was their greeting and interest of special importance and joy to Paul? In what year, and at what season of the year, did Paul arrive in Rome?

3. *Paul and the Christians of Rome.*—Why does the New Testament contain no account of the establishment of Christianity in Rome? Is it evident from Rom. 1:13; 15:22–29 that Paul was not its founder? Is it probable also, from the following considerations, that Peter was not the founder either: the entire absence from Acts of any allusion to his presence in Rome; the absence of any mention of his being, or having been there, from the epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Philippians; and the principle of Paul (Rom. 15:20) not to build on another man's foundation? If not by Peter or Paul, or it would seem by any single individual of prominence, in what way, and when, was the gospel introduced into Rome? Was it perhaps by Jews of Rome who were present in Jerusalem at the Pentecostal outpouring and carried the gospel back with them (Acts 2:10); or by Hellenistic Jewish Christians who were dispersed from Jerusalem at Stephen's death (Acts 8:1; 11:19); or by Gentile Christians who had gone to Rome to live or to preach, from the several cities where Paul had established Christianity? Is it probable, from Rom. 1:7; 16:5, that the Christians in Rome constituted several groups or churches rather than a single organized body? Were there both Jews and

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Gentiles in the Christian community or communities in Rome? Consider the passages in the epistle to the Romans which indicate a predominance of the Gentile element (Rom. 1:5, 6, 13–16; 6:19; 10:13, 14; 11:30, 31; 15:1, 8, 9, 15, 16). If mainly Gentile, would the Roman Christians probably hold the Pauline views of Christianity, and why? When, under what circumstances, and why, had Paul written his epistle to the Romans? Why has the Acts said so little about the Christians of Rome?

4. *Paul and the Jews of Rome.*— Did Paul, immediately upon his arrival in Rome, set about to conciliate and convert the Jews of that city? Describe his preliminary effort (28:17–22) to find out what they had heard about him, and to remove all obstacles to his influence and work among them. Consider in detail how his statement was intended to effect this. Compare Paul's statement of his case with the previous Acts account (chaps. 21–26) of the same. Consider carefully the meaning of Acts 28:21, as to the surprising ignorance of the Roman Jews concerning Paul's previous conflicts with the Jews everywhere else. How came the Roman Jews to know so very little (28:22) about the gospel and the Christians when there were so many Christians, some of them converted Jews, in their own city? How large was the attendance at Paul's second conference with the Jews of Rome? Consider how Paul expounded to them at this time the relation of Christianity to Judaism. What was the result of this presentation of the gospel? Why did these Jews as a body reject Paul's teaching? What warning did Paul give them before they went away? Consider Paul's use of the Old Testament passage in 28:26, 27, and compare other New Testament instances of its use (Matt. 13:14; Mark 4:12; Luke 8:10; John 12:40; Rom. 11:8). Did Paul then turn with the gospel, as on former occasions elsewhere, to the Gentiles of the city? Observe and explain the omission from the Revised Version of Acts 28:29.

5. *Paul's Roman imprisonment and the Acts record.*— For how long a time, and during what years, was Paul a prisoner at Rome? What was the nature of his captivity (28:16, 30)? Was he allowed to carry on his gospel ministry as he chose? In what ways did he do so? What two chief elements of his teaching are here (28:31) mentioned? Study the epistles, as time permits, which Paul wrote during this period (Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, Philippians), for the light which they throw upon his life and work at this time. Why does the Acts narrative end so abruptly with 28:31? Did the trial and its conclu-

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sion come at the end of the two years' imprisonment? Did the trial result in condemnation or acquittal, was Paul put to death or released? If the latter, how long a time intervened before his death (in 64 A. D. or later), and what was Paul doing during this period? When and why were Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus written? Consider and explain the incompleteness of the Acts account of Paul's ministry in Rome and the closing years of his career.

III. Observations and Teachings.

For directions as to the work to be done under this head, see the statement at this point in Sec. 20.

Literature.—Upon this section see the commentaries on Acts, especially those of Gloag, Hackett, Meyer, and the Cambridge Bible. Also Neander, Planting and Training of the Christian Church, Vol. I, pp. 311–318; Farrar, Life and Work of St. Paul, chaps. 43–45; Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, chaps. 23, 24; Stifler, Introduction to the Book of Acts, secs. xix, xx; Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveler, pp. 283–362; Weizsäcker, Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, Vol. II. pp. 115–131; Bible Dictionary, Articles, Appii Forum, Aristarchus, Clauda (Cauda), Euroclydon (Euraquilo), Fair Havens, Italy, Julius, Luke, Melita (Malta), Paul, Phenice (Phœnix), Publius, Rome, Syracuse, Syrtis, Three Taverns.

There has just been published a *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* by Prof. A. C. McGiffert, Ph.D., D.D., of Union Theological Seminary (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1897, pp. 681, Price $2.50.) It is safe to say that it is of more value than any other single work on the subject. It is fitted to become the text-book for the thorough, critical study of Primitive Christianity. The student will do well, now at the close of this study of Acts, to review the whole field by the aid of McGiffert's important contribution to the knowledge of this period of history.

REVIEW OF THE PRIMITIVE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Book of Acts. 30–63 A. D. The Roman Empire.

I. The Acts Record.

1. Read through the entire book of Acts at one sitting (sixty to ninety minutes), endeavoring to bring the whole history to mind as one unit.
2. Observe the general portions of the book: chaps. 1–7, Christianity in Jerusalem; chaps. 8–15, Christianity in Palestine and Syria; chaps. 16–20, Christianity in Asia and Greece; chaps. 21–28, Paul's Trials and Imprisonment.
3. Review carefully the outline of the history which is contained in the three main divisions, the sections and the paragraphs

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(for the divisions and sections see pages 3 and 4, for the paragraphs see under each section). This analysis should be studied until the divisions and sections, with the Acts passages, dates and localities can be written out from memory.

4. Note down the chief characteristics of the book of Acts as a history of the Apostolic Age, as to purpose, style, sources, material included, material excluded, proportionate length of the accounts of the several events, incidents and speeches, the naratives of miracles, the historical trustworthiness in general and in detail.

II. Time and Order of Events.

1. Review carefully the Chronological Chart of the Primitive Era of Christianity (page 2), observing whether, in view of your study, you would now change the date of, or rearrange, any of the events (consider the general note at the foot of the chart).
2. Commit to memory now, if you have not previously done so, this Chronological Chart, fixing in mind the time, the consecution, and the relative importance of the events.

III. Geography of the History.

1. Reconsider the fact, and its significance, that the Acts record is framed upon the geographical extension of Christianity.
2. State the five distinct steps of geographical progression of the gospel as set forth in the Acts (see rule column on the extreme left of the Chronological Chart), giving the dates over which each step extends, and a brief description of the circumstances.
3. Sketch a map of the Roman Empire about the Mediterranean Sea, on which pictorially represent the spread of Christianity by five concentric circles about Jerusalem, and mark upon the circumference of each circle the date when the gospel reached this district, and the Acts passage which records the fact.

IV. Organization of the Christians.

1. The organization of the church was a natural and gradual growth from an almost unorganized condition to a somewhat complex form of government adapted to the organic life and work of the church. Each element of the organization therefore needs to be considered, first, in its individual aspects, second, in its relational aspects. Consider (1) when each element was intro-

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duced into the organization, (2) why it was introduced, (3) what its relation was to the organization into which it came, (4) what its subsequent individual and relational development was.

2. The most important topics which call for this treatment are the following:

(1) the original apostles.
(2) other church leaders called apostles.
(3) Elders (presbyters, bishops).
(4) Deacons.
(5) Prophets.
(6) Evangelists.
(7) Pastors.
(8) Teachers.
(9) the difference between orders and functions with reference to the foregoing church officers.
(10) absence of any general, comprehensive church officers other than the apostles.
(11) the unity of the local church.
(12) the independence of the local church.
(13) the method of conducting business in church meetings.
(14) the various elements of which the churches were composed.
(15) the method of church discipline.
(16) the conditions of church membership.
(17) variations in the form of church organization in different localities.

V. Environment of the Christians.

1. The environment in which the Christians found themselves constantly underwent modification and change, both by reason of territorial expansion and through the acquisition of adherents to the cause. The environment, therefore, should be viewed separately in each of the three main divisions of the Acts history.

2. The general topics for consideration in each period will be:

(1) the particular parts of the world in which Christianity had become established.
(2) the chief centers of Christian influence.
(3) the relation to the church of the civil power—the Roman government.
(4) the relation to the church of the Jewish people in general.

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(5) the relation to the church of the Gentile people in general,
(6) the relation between Jewish and Gentile Christians.
(7) the conflict between Christianity and Judaism.
(8) the conflict between Christianity and Heathenism.

VI. Institutions of the Christians.

Reconsider fully the institutions of the Christian church, each in turn, as regards its origin, significance, manner of observation, modification during the era (if any), and influence. The most important institutions of the church were the following:

(1) the rite of baptism.
(2) the rite of the Lord's Supper.
(3) the Agape.
(4) Sunday.
(5) other sacred days.
(6) creeds.
(7) public services.
(8) private religious services.
(9) places of worship.
(10) preaching.
(11) instruction.
(12) sacred music and hymns.
(13) prayer.
(14) charitable contributions.

VII. Belief and Teaching of the Christians.

Review carefully the belief and teaching of the primitive Christians, both as respects theology and as respects ethics, as they are recorded in the book of Acts.

1. The theological belief and teaching of the primitive Christians may be reconsidered under the following topics:

(1) God.
(2) Christ.
(3) the Holy Spirit.
(4) the spiritual nature of man.
(5) sin.
(6) the Mosaic law.
(7) justification by faith.
(8) redemption.
(9) the Christian life.
(10) the second advent of Christ.
(11) the resurrection.
(12) the judgment.
(13) the consummation of the kingdom.
(14) Old Testament Scriptures.

2. The ethical belief and teaching may be reconsidered under the following topics:

(1) individual morals.
(2) duties to existing government.
(3) duties toward social institutions, *e. g.*, slavery.
(4) duties of family life.
(5) duties toward the weaker brethren.

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(6) Christian virtues.
(7) Christian graces.

VIII. Daily Life of the Christians.

Reconsider the characteristics of the life which the Christians lived, both individually and as members of the Christian community. Observe also whether there were material differences in the daily life of the Christians between one and another of the three main divisions of the Acts history. The review may be made on the basis of the following topics:

(1) fellowship.
(2) unity.
(3) charity.
(4) coöperation.
(5) property relations.
(6) loyalty to the gospel.
(7) fervency and worshipfulness.
(8) zeal and activity for the cause.
(9) individual morals.
(10) social life.
(11) division of duties.
(12) manners of employment.
(13) growth in numbers.
(14) growth in grace.
(15) miracle-working.
(16) prophesying.
(17) speaking with tongues.
(18) interpretation of tongue speaking.

IX. The Leading Gospel Workers.

Review the Christian leaders of the primitive era, observing the particular division or divisions of the history within which the career of each one fell. Consider them respectively as regards their personal characteristics, their official characteristics, their special missions, their influence upon Christianity. The following workers at least should be so considered, and others may be added as seems fitting:

(1) Peter.
(2) James.
(3) John.
(4) Stephen.
(5) Philip.
(6) Paul.
(7) Barnabas.
(8) Mark.
(9) Silas.
(10) Timothy.
(11) Titus.
(12) Luke.

X. Divine Guidance and Instruction.

1. Reconsider the continual and loving presence of Christ with his followers, the constant evidence of God's hand in the events

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and the experiences of the primitive era of Christianity. Review the providential aspects of the life of Peter, and of the life of Paul; similarly of other prominent Christian workers. Consider the Providence which guided the spread of the gospel throughout the pagan world. May it be said that the career of Christianity, from first to last of the Apostolic Age, through every moment of its existence, was sustained, directed and developed by the divine wisdom, love and power?

2. Reconsider, as fully as time permits, the many lessons for present day Christian life, internal and external, individual and collective, which God has given to us in the events and experiences of the Apostolic Age.

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The Council of Seventy.

The Council desires publicly to express its indebtedness to the religious press of the country for the frequent mention of the work of the American Institute to be found in the columns of many of the leading religious journals. In this connection the following papers have shown special courtesy: *The Independent* (New York), *The Outlook* (New York), *The Congregationalist* (Boston), *The Standard* (Chicago), *The M. E. Herald* (Minneapolis), *The Texas Baptist and Herald* (Dallas), *The Cumberland Presbyterian* (Nashville), *The Baptist Outlook* (Indianapolis), *The Religious Telescope* (Dayton), *The Evangelical Churchman* (Toronto), *The St. Louis Observer* (St. Louis), *The Advance* (Chicago), *The Western Christian Advocate* (Cincinnati), *The Christian Oracle* (Chicago), *The Evangelical* (Harrisburg, Pa.), *The Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), *The Evangelist* (New York), *The Union Signal* (Chicago), *The Evangelical Messenger* (Cleveland), *The Christian Register* (Boston), *The New York Christian Advocate* (New York), *The Arkansas Baptist* (Little Rock), *The Sunday School Times* (Philadelphia), *The Golden Rule* (Boston). Many other papers might be included, but these are especially mentioned because of the frequency with which notices have appeared, evidencing a genuine desire to coöperate in the work.

The biblical work of the Institute is finding its way into that great body of energetic students represented by the women's clubs of the country. The constituency of these clubs is so varied in relation to creeds and dogmas that at first sight, and from the point of view of harmony, it might seem inadvisable to introduce the study of the Bible as a department of work. It is a fact, however, that in clubs where Bible sections have already been working one year, there were found representatives of all evangelical denominations, and in addition, Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, and even those who had nominally no religious belief. Strange to say, so much of interest and agreement was found in the general work that no time was left, and no inclination manifested for emphasizing the wide differences in personal views concerning details. A small pamphlet giving the experience of two large Bible

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sections in prominent clubs is in press, and will be circulated among all the clubs belonging to the general federation this month. The sketches are introduced by a cordial letter of commendation from Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, the president of the federation.

The following extract shows under what difficulties, and yet with what perseverance, many of the students of the Institute pursue their work: "I studied the course last year very carefully, but could not find time to answer the questions in writing. I bought a little book of Proverbs of large type, and, fastening it on the side of my corn wagon, followed the course through Proverbs while husking from sixty to eighty bushels of corn a day; but I could not answer the questions in writing that way. I am learning much of the Bible by heart. I already know much of the New Testament. I find this method of study a great help, for when I learn a chapter I know it and can recall any verse. I tear out leaves from a cheap Bible and learn the verses while at work."

A volume containing all the principal articles upon the life of Christ, which have been published in the BIBLICAL WORLD during the past three years has been prepared by the Institute for the use of its students. The articles are well illustrated, and a good map forms the frontispiece. The contributors to the volume are the following well-known scholars: Professor J. S. Riggs, D.D.; Professor H. M. Scott, D.D.; Professor Ernest D. Burton, D.D.; Professor A. C. Zenos, D.D.; Professor William Arnold Stevens, D.D.; Professor Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D.; Professor Marcus Dods, D.D.; Professor William C. Wilkinson, D.D,; Professor Rush Rhees; Professor Shailer Mathews; Professor George T. Purves, D.D.; Professor George Adam Smith, D.D.; Professor Charles R. Henderson, D.D.: Rev. Frank W. Gunsaulus, D.D.; President William R. Harper, D.D.; Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.; Bishop J. H. Vincent, D.D. Any Bible student would find it convenient to have all these articles in one volume.[1]

Some specially interesting clubs for the study of the life of Christ, and other topics, of the four years' course, have been organized this year. Beginning with next month, a special roll of honor of all clubs enrolling more than thirty members will be published from month to month in the BIBLICAL WORLD.

The Rev. Lindsay B. Longacre, pastor of the Methodist Church at Spuyten Duyvil, New York city, reports a club of more than fifty

[1] Price $1.00.

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members, including children in the upper grammar grades of the public schools, young women from the Normal College, clerks, and fathers and mothers of college boys and girls. Mr. Longacre writes: "Truly, a varied crowd, but they seemed to feel that there was something to learn, and that they had come to learn it. Not the slightest feeling of inequality was apparent."

Rev. John H. Boyd, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Evanston, Ill., has formed a large club in his congregation, and will use the topics for prayer meeting talks throughout the year. The number in this church already enrolled for this work reaches nearly one hundred, and is daily increasing.

An interesting club has been formed in the Y. M. C. A. of the Johns Hopkins University. This is the same club, consisting largely of graduate students, in which the work was carried on so successfully last year.

Again, with January 1898, the popular courses of the Institute come into line with the International Sunday-School Lessons. It will be possible to study the subject (The Life of Christ) in outline from the club course, in literature through the Reading Guild, in detail through the English correspondence courses in Luke and John, and still more thoroughly through the New Testament Greek correspondence courses. It is hoped that a special feature may be made of the outline club work, which can be so admirably introduced as a home study course in schools where the home study work is advocated. A special plan in this latter connection will be indicated later.

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Work and Workers.

THE LOGIA is arousing a large public interest in the importance of archæological research. This is seen in the demands of our popular magazines for a description of this unique manuscript. Some of the recent articles on this theme, not already mentioned, are found in the following: *Leisure Hour* for September, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson; *McClure's* for October, by Mr. Grenfell (giving the story of the find); *Contemporary* for September, by Dr. M. R. James. The sale of the *Logia* in England alone reached 12,000 copies within three weeks after its appearance. We regret that an equal sale cannot be reported for the United States.

THE Græco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, under whose auspices the *Logia* was published, is rapidly receiving generous aid for further research. To the sale of *Logia*, yielding about $1500, many leading spirits of England, such as the Marquis of Salisbury and the Duke of Argyll, are adding their support.

DR. JOHN P. PETERS' *Nippur* is appreciatively reviewed on a full page in the *Academy* of September 11.

THE Religious Tract Society of London has just published *The Growth of the Kingdom of God*, by S. L. Gulick; *Sundays Round the World*, by F. Hastings; *Masters of Tomorrow*, by W. J. Lacey; *Elisha the Man of Abel-Meholah*, by Mrs. O. F. Walton; *The House we Live in*, by W. J. Gordon; *The Rise and Spread of Christianity*, by W. H. Summons.

WANTED: "A Philanthropist for Research," is the title, in the *Academy* of September 18, of a vigorous arraignment of the English government for its total lack of interest in the few scholars who are devoting their time and strength to oriental research. It is compromisingly compared with the great powers of Europe whose interest in oriental studies and science are manifested by special provisions through endowments and designated funds. It calls for the appearance of some philanthropist who will endow or otherwise provide for the advancement of one of the most promising branches of knowledge.

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THE Society of Friends in England has established a summer school of theology. The first session was held last August 4–18, and had an attendance of 700. This society has established a system of adult schools on Sunday mornings all over the kingdom, which reaches at the present time not less than 40,000 persons. A few well-known biblical scholars lent their influence to this enterprise. Among them we note Dr. J. Rendel Harris, of Cambridge; Dr. T. Hodgkin and Mr. Grenfell, of Oxford; Drs. R. F. Horton and George Adam Smith, Professors R. G. Moulton, of Chicago, and R. W. Rogers, of Madison, N. J.

MR. WILLIAM REYNOLDS, of International Sunday School fame, died in Louisville, Ky., September 28. The *Sunday School Times* of October 9 contains an appreciative memorial article by Mr. M. D. Byers, of Chicago.

FRENCH diplomats are always wide awake to the interests of science and learning, and seek to promote them in every legitimate way. The latest public step taken is the securing of an exclusive permit to excavate in Persia during the next ten years. We may expect startling discoveries in this country at the hands of so accomplished an archæologist as M. de Morgan.

M. DE MORGAN, who has done such valuable service for several years as Director General of Antiquities of the Egyptian Government, has resigned his appointment. He has shown by his skill as an excavator that he is fully qualified to undertake the great work of excavating in Persia which is now placed in his hands by the French government.

MRS. MARIE N. BUCKMAN, who has devoted years to the study of Egyptology, and who is now the American secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund, will henceforth be publisher of *Biblia*, with Boston as its place of issuance. Dr. Davis, however, will still hold the position of editor.

DR. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, of the British Museum, is the editor of the valuable Coptic text of the Psalter which was discovered some two years ago in Upper Egypt. Some Egyptian peasants found this MS. in a stone box which was discovered in the ruins of an old monastery. Apparently it had been prepared for, and was used in, the monastery, but had been hidden in this chest at some time of danger. Dr. Budge has carefully transcribed the MS., and we now have the text printed

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with the original. A most valuable find for the study of the early Coptic scriptures, and of some textual importance for the Psalter.

"THE Devotional Study of the Bible" is the title of a series of three articles now appearing in the *Standard* of Chicago. The first, on "Its Benefits," is by Rev. W. H. Geistweit, of Galesburg, Ill.; the the second, on "Practical Methods of Securing Time for the Devotional Study of the Bible," is by Rev. F. L. Anderson, of Rochester, N. Y.; the third, on "How to Study the Bible Devotionally," is by Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago.

DR. WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham, has been sadly crippled in health within the past year, and has contemplated resigning his bishopric. But on advice he will take a long vacation as a means of ascertaining whether his strength will longer endure the requirements of his office.

PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON expects, at some later date, to issue the New Testament in the "Modern Reader's Bible" series, so grouped as to present a continuous history of the New Testament church.

THE Egypt Exploration Fund has decided that its volume for 1895–6 shall be Professor Petrie's *Deshasheh*, illustrated with photogravures and other plates. Naville's Part III of *Deir-el-Bahari*, now nearly ready for the press, will be the subscribers' volume for 1896–7.

REV. R. H. CHARLES, who has done such energetic and continuous work on the Apocrypha within the past few years, has been appointed first Jowett lecturer at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in St. Pancras, London, which was founded by the generosity of Mrs. Humphrey Ward. The theme on which he proposes to speak some time next spring is "The History of Jewish Religious Thought during the two Hundred Years before Christ."

PROFESSOR RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW has returned to Europe from a successful trip in the East. He came back laden with rich archæological and linguistic treasures. In addition to copies of many smaller inscriptions he made and brought with him a new and very accurate drawing of the great Nabatæan inscription at Petra. Professor Nöldeke has transliterated this into Hebrew characters, and published it, with a brief commentary, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 1–8.

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Notes and Opinions.

Principal Fairbairn on "Christ's Attitude to His Own Death."—Principal Fairbairn has four papers on "Christ's Attitude to His Own Death" in the *Expositor*, the last being in the February number for 1897.

The aim of the writer is to show (1) that Christ regarded his death as sacrificial, and (2) that the sacrifice was in his *will*, and not his physical sufferings.

The *first* position is confirmed by the prophetic statements of Jesus himself, which grow more and more explicit during his ministry and culminate at the passover-supper.

Dr. Fairbairn has done good service in presenting this rather neglected side of the *atonement*. Theology has made the man-word side so prominent—sin's necessity of sacrifice—that the attitude of the Sacrificer Himself has been assumed, rather than proved. This has led hostile minds to assert that the sacrificial element in the death of Christ is the outgrowth of pagan conceptions of man's relation to God, or at the best is but an apostolic after-thought.

Paul has been made the father of the atoning idea, rather than Christ. It is very important, therefore, to bring out what Jesus himself says, and which shows that the apostles simply borrowed from him as the original source. The prophets had the beginnings of this conception, but John the Baptist was the first to see its outline clearly, and "Behold the Lamb of God" is the announcement of his discovery. When John's voice was suppressed within prison walls, Jesus himself took up the prophecy, and daily entered into its fulfilment until his victorious cry on the cross, *It is finished!*

The *second* point, emphasized by Dr. Fairbairn is that the sacrifice of Christ was in his *will* rather than his *physical sufferings*. These latter were indeed terrible, and intensified the awfulness of his sufferings, and yet they were but the ritual of the *sacrifice*. The real essence of the atonement was in the absolute and peaceful surrender of Christ's *will* to his Father in behalf of sinful man. The principle of the atonement is spiritual, not physical. The emphasis of the physical has produced

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mechanical and metaphysical theories which have utterly failed to show the nexus between sinner and savior. Perhaps no theory can show this perfectly, but the spirital principle of the atonement seems to furnish the most natural explanation.

If the sacrifice was in the voluntary and perfect obedience of Christ to his Father's will, and so through a man, and for man, becoming one with the Father, may we not say that man, divinely aided, by the voluntary and entire submission of his will to Christ, becomes one with him, and, through him, one with the Father? Obedience is the aim of the atonement.

This Christ fulfilled as a man, his suffering being intensified by the cruelty of his foes and the betrayal of his friends. It was an unutterable sorrow to him that what he did to bless and save should by any be turned to a curse and loss. But this suffering, after all, was not sacrificial in itself, but only incidental as a test of his will-power of obedience to his Father, as an offering for sin. This obedience was in behalf of others rather than a test of his own loyalty to God, and, therefore, his death was for more than a martyrdom. Obedience is better than sacrifice. By faith man grasps Christ's obedience to God as rendered for him, and which begets in him a willing submission to the will of Christ. The blood cleanses, not as blood, but as the evidence of obedience, which changes sin and the love of sin into a loving life of holiness.

W. M. LISLE.

WEST NEWTON, MASS.

The cut upon the cover of this number is a slightly altered reproduction of the famous frescoe of Raphael in the Vatican, "The Release of Peter from Prison." In the original the effect of the illumination by the angel who bends over the sleeping apostle is far more remarkable than in any photographic reproduction, but even in such a reproduction one cannot fail to be impressed with the unity of the picture's combination,—a characteristic of Raphael—as well as by the brilliancy of treatment.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

DAS GESETZ IN DEN PAULINISCHEN BRIEFEN. Von DIAKONUS R. ZEHNPFUND. *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, VIII Jahrgang, 5. Heft, 1897. Pp. 384–419.

1. "The Conception of the Law."—Under the term, "The law" (ὁ νόμος), Paul always understands the Mosaic law as the expression of God's will to Israel. "Paul uses the word νόμος to differentiate the Jews of his time from the heathen, according to their religious, ethical peculiarities." It is the covenant of the historical and religious community, and this conception is the key to the apostle's attitude toward the law.

The supposed difference between Paul's conception of the ritualistic and ethical parts of the law is due to the difference between the Roman and Galatian Epistles. The strict separation of "the ethical" and "the ritual" is not possible, "for νόμος is the will of God, comprehending in itself, moral as well as ritual law." There is no contrast between the sacrifice of Christ and the law. (2) Under the term, "Works of the law" (ἔργα νόμου), Paul is forced to settle the question of law as the ground of ἔργα. He joins his opponents in speculation on the law as an expression of the divine will, but encounters them fiercely in the contemplation of law as fulfilled by man. For him the problem is, "Is it possible for man to live in conformity to the divine will?" (3) Baur and his followers have identified the remains of Pharisaic teaching in Paul's conception of the law. While he is always conscious of his past training, he yet recognizes its incompleteness and seeks deeper knowledge. His view of the law, therefore, is absolutely new in contrast to that of the synagogue.

Redemption came not through relationship to an historical community, but through union with Christ. This latter relationship meant freedom, and "freedom is a standard in itself."

In opposition to the Jewish assaults, the central thought of the Pauline polemic was *that*, "it is absolutely impossible for man, from within himself, to fulfil the law." The law of sin and grace stand not in causal, but in real connection with each other. The moral task of

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the Christian is to guard the flesh (σάρξ) that it may not again become the abode of sin. The double mistake of the zealots lay in the fact that they did not recognize that the law, as spirit, was heterogeneous; and further, trusted to purely accidental γράμμα.

They did not realize that Abraham and his descendants were kept in the true faith not on account of law, but in spite of it. "The Jews have, therefore, been led—*ad absurdum;* . . . . for νόμος and πίστις are as conditions for redemption in contradictory opposition."

In the light of the cross of Christ, the worthlessness of the law is evident. If the law had any inherent value, it consisted in preparation for grace.

"The law is (therefore) the touchstone standing between Adam and Christ." "It is the mean, the objective and subjective need of humanity for redemption by grace, demanding faith to give it completion. . . . . It is the mirror in which the Christian can see at all times the strength of his faith incarnated."

The article shows wide study of the problems of νόμος; it is divided into three main parts: I, The proposition and its parts; II, the refutation of Judaistic attacks; III, the law and the Christian community. Part I is treated in five paragraphs: (1) The conception and meaning of the law; (2) the ἔργα νόμου; (3) the teaching of the opponents in its development and finality; (4) the fundamental ideas of the Pauline doctrine. Part II takes up (5) the law and Pharisaic teaching of righteousness by works; (6) the law and Old Testament predictions and promises; (7) the law and Christ the Crucified; (8) the significance and plan of the law in the divine plan of salvation. Part III discusses (9) the law and Christian conduct, and (10) the law and divine retribution. The treatment is theological rather than philosophical. The argument, in its application to the Old Testament, is well sustained. The ethical meaning of νόμος is not, however, clearly developed. Perplexities of meaning in both the Roman and Galatian epistles are passed without a single word of explanation. Yet, the article abounds in suggestive thoughts.

HENRY FORSYTHE MILLIGAN.

ST. MARK IN EARLY TRADITION. By REV. PROFESSOR H. B. SWETE, D.D., Cambridge. *The Expositor*, October 1897, pp. 268–277.

1. A triple tradition of great antiquity records that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, gathered Peter's recollections of the Lord into a written work. In its earliest form, the tradition goes back through Papias to John the Elder, who did not regard the work as an orderly or exhaustive treatise, its sole aim being to record faithfully all that Mark could recall of what he had heard from Peter's lips. The Roman form of this tradition we may gather from traces in Irenæus, from the

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Muratorian fragment, and from a remark of Tertullian, since Carthage seems to have received the story through Rome, rather than directly from the East. In its western form, the tradition makes the writing of the memoirs subsequent to the death of Peter; otherwise it hardly differs from the Asiatic representation. At Alexandria, too, the tradition appears, though in a form apparently later than the others. As told here, Mark makes his gospel in response to the appeal of Roman Christians while Peter is still alive. In substance, however, the three forms of the tradition agree. The identification of this Petrine Mark with our second gospel, it should be added, is made by all the early witnesses except John the Elder; and his testimony, while it does not require such an interpretation, at least admits it.

2. Another early tradition designates Mark as the founder of the church at Alexandria. An extreme form of this is the report that Mark was the first bishop of the Alexandrian church, and was succeeded in the eighth year of Nero by Annianus. Jerome even makes that year the year of Mark's death. Notices in the Apostolical Constitutions, Epiphanius and the Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα agree with them in connecting Mark in an important way with Christian beginnings in Alexandria. This missionary activity in Africa would fall between Mark's disappearance from our view with Barnabas in Cyprus, and his reappearance with Paul at Rome, many years after.

3. Of a more personal nature are the numerous traditions that Mark was one of those offended in the synagogue at Capernaum, that he belonged to the tribe of Levi, that he died a martyr's death, and that he was "stump-fingered," and thus disqualified, possibly by his own act, for the duties of the Jewish priesthood.

Professor Swete has gathered these somewhat miscellaneous traditions about Mark into an interesting and instructive article.

E. J. G.

THE MODERN OVERESTIMATE OF PAUL'S RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY. By the Rev. ALEXANDER MAIR, D.D. *The Expositor*, October 1897, pp. 241–257.

There has been manifest in recent years a tendency to exaggerate Paul's importance in relation to the birth and early growth of Christianity, almost to the point of making him its founder. This has been peculiarly the case with the school of Baur, for, while Baur himself never maintained it, his pupil Schwegler, and the philosopher von Hartmann, and hardly less unequivocally Pfleiderer have thus exalted

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Paul. A similar position has been taken by Dr. William Mackintosh, in his book, *The Natural History of Christianity*, where Paul is represented as practically the founder of Christianity as we understand it.

The ground for this confusion is found in the work of Paul as the enunciator of the truth lived and realized by Christ. Christ *made* Christianity; he *is* it; while the apostle formulated, and to some degree systematized what he found in Christ. It is quite true that Paul's testimony to the substance of Christianity is of great and peculiar value, in view of the apostle's early opposition, strong Jewish prejudices, intimate knowledge of the facts, sudden surrender, and heroic efforts for his new faith. But this is not to say that his is the only reliable evidence we have; nor even that it is of supreme importance. We proceed to mention some considerations making against this overestimate of Paul's relation to Christianity.

In the first place, Christianity and the church existed and obtained a wide hold before Paul's conversion. Paul was not even the first to preach to the Gentiles, for Philip and Peter, Stephen and the men of Cyprus and Cyrene had already carried the gospel beyond the Jewish pale, with no little success. Again, Paul's churches played no such part in the history of Christianity as did the great religious centers at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. Paul wrote no gospel, and in his letters adds little to our knowledge of the facts of Jesus' life. His epistles everywhere require a knowledge of the gospels for their comprehension. Nor are the doctrines ordinarily called Paul's original with him. Universal sinfulness, the divinity of our Lord, the atonement, salvation by faith in Christ, regeneration,— these doctrines and many more proclaimed by Paul, had already been taught with more or less distinctness by Christ himself. Paul is himself careful to teach that it is Christ, not himself, who is the original. So of the ordinances and organization of the church; all are pre-Pauline. Deacons, elders, evangelists; baptism, the Lord's Supper—all were known before Paul entered the church. Nothing new or important in the radical organization of the church is due originally to Paul.

In early Christian literature we look in vain for indications of overwhelming Pauline influence. Quotations from his letters are found, but less generally than one should expect. Nor is the Pauline type of doctrine more in evidence. The early creeds of the church, as well as the early Christian writers, show little of the distinctively Pauline form of doctrine. Indeed, to the end of the second century no author but Marcion particularly affected Paulinism, and Marcion's influence was

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of no long duration. Finally, and most important of all, Paul himself is loudest in proclaiming not himself, but Jesus, as the true and sole founder of Christianity. This is wrought into the whole fabric of his epistles.

All this by no means lessens the value of the apologetic argument supplied by the conversion, life and writings of the apostle; but shows that before Paul, there was in Christ himself evidence for Christianity that was irresistible.

Here is a concise and systematic refutation of an idea which in various forms has a considerable place in modern thought. Naturally the article is apologetic in tone; and yet one feels that Dr. Mair's case would have lost nothing by being presented in a somewhat more judicial way. In order to exalt Christ, it is not necessary to minimize Paul. The author's selection and interpretation of texts adduced in support of his position — we hesitate to call them "proof-texts" — does not always commend itself. The main contention of the article, however, is undoubtedly valid, and its substantiation seems conclusive. E. J. G.

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Book Reviews.

Isaiah: A Study of Chapters I-XII. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Pp. 263. $2.

Professor Mitchell's *Amos: An Essay in Exegesis* (Boston, 1893) awakens our interest in the announcement of another work from his pen. Nearly a half-century has passed since an American scholar has tried his hand on a commentary on the towering prophet. In this work our author does not attempt to cover more than twelve chapters. The preface states that the book has grown out of lectures delivered to classes in the school of theology. They are here expanded and arrayed "in a way to make them useful, not only to candidates for the ministry, but to other even less advanced students of the Bible." The plan of most commentaries is not adopted, but rather the one in which the exegesis is presented in the form of continuous discussion. The author has consulted all of the leading, and some of the minor "authorities" in the preparation of his book, as in the "books and authors cited" we find thirty-nine titles. The "Introductory Studies" embrace brief discussions of (1) Isaiah the Prophet, (2) The Times of Isaiah, (3) The Prophecies of Isaiah. Those chapters are all too brief to present vivid pictures, especially of the first two points. The second, I think, would rather confuse than help the reader, for which it is prepared. In the section on "Prophecies" the author discusses Isaiah, chaps. 1–39. These are made up of three books, terminating respectively with chaps. 11:10—12:6; 24–27; and 34–35, chaps. 36–39 being merely an historical appendix. These books are arranged not according to the original plan, nor are they the original documents, but they are based on an earlier collection of documents. The whole discussion is too brief to satisfy the reader. One naturally looks for the proof of such statements as the following (on p. 49): "The apocryphal tone of chaps. 24–27, and the reference to the West in 24:14, indicate that it was written when the overthrow of the Persian empire was imminent;" "the psalm of Hezekiah is post-exilic."

The translation of chaps. 1–12 covers twenty pages. The genuine passages are indicated by common type, and the *un*genuine by italics. In italics we find, of larger passages, chaps. 2:1–5; 3:18–22; 4:5, 6;

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5:15, 16, 30; 9:14–15; 10:10–12, 16–27, 33–34; 11:10–12:6. The "Comments" cover about 175 pages. In this rather continuous discussion the author aims to reach the popular reader, and wisely relegates to footnotes questions philological and archæological, as well as some points where there is a sharp conflict of views. It is quite sufficient to say that we are rarely in doubt as to the author's position. The frequency of quotation from Delitzsch, Cheyne, Duhm, Orelli, Dillmann, and G. A., Smith, shows that the author has industriously and, as a rule, wisely, made use of the means at hand to produce a work both up-to-date and popular. Caution is apparent on almost every page, but we question the wisdom of presenting as yet so many of the unproved positions of Duhm too often with assent. Again, in his recommendation of works on Isaiah for his readers he makes special mention of Cheyne's *Introduction*, a book designed not for the popular reader at all, but for the specialist only. Aside from his sympathetic strains for the most advanced hypothesis on Isaiah, Professor Mitchell has done a useful piece of work. With its full indices it will be of value to every popular student of the prophet Isaiah. The book is printed in large type on thick, too thick, paper. PRICE.

The Holy Land: Its Geography and History. By TOWNSEND MACCOUN. New York: Townsend MacCoun. Two vols. $2.00.

Most students of history are acquainted with the author's *Historical Geography of the United States*, as well as his *Historical Charts*, and it will be unnecessary to inform them that the work has been done not only well, but from a practical point of view, with an eye to study and teaching.

In Volume I there are fifty maps faced with brief descriptions in which all the physical features of the country are very carefully presented in their relations to biblical history.

In the second volume an even larger number of maps and charts are arranged facing a descriptive text, showing along with the physical characteristics of the country, its political divisions from the earliest until modern times. In addition, there are a number of charts of Jerusalem, maps of the journeys of Paul, and several half-tone reproductions (the least effective and valuable portions of the book) of views of scriptural places. In addition, each volume has chronological charts and indices of all sorts.

As the volumes are of a convenient size, and on the whole seem to be

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compiled from the latest and most trustworthy authorities, the work is to be heartily recommended.

There is no work of the same cost which presents so much information in such usable shape as does this. For bible classes and such persons as desire to study biblical history thoroughly they will be found especially valuable. S. M.

Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch. By REV. ISAAC GIBSON. Introduction by REV. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD, PH.D. Philadelphia: Jacobs & Co., 1897. Pp. 100, 8vo. Price $0.50.

Mr. Gibson's little book is worthy of unqualified praise. The reviewer knows of no work which sets forth more succinctly, clearly, and forcibly the main arguments for the modern critical hypothesis in regard to the origin of the Hexateuch. It is not technical and scientific, in the sense of being a reinvestigation of the grounds of Hexateuchal analysis and a contribution to the development of criticism, nor is it popular, in the sense of appealing to the careless and superficial general reader. It is designed rather for those who have minds trained to follow a scientific argument but who lack time and special preparation to study a purely technical work. Books that are adapted to the general reader and that are at the same time scientific are rare, so that it cannot be doubted that this work will have a useful career.

The general plan of the treatise is, to exhibit the rise and spread of the critical theory of the Hexateuch in Germany, England, and America, to meet certain traditional and dogmatic objections to it, and to present the main phenomena, such as parallel narratives, discrepancies, and linguistic peculiarities, which demand the assumption of the use of documents by the compiler of the Hexateuch. Then a number of the more striking "doublets" are given in translation in parallel columns to illustrate the results of the analysis; and finally, the age, purpose, historicity, and inspiration of the documents are discussed.

One might occasionally take exception to the author's critical conclusions as, for instance, (p. 41) that Ex. 34, 10–28 is another version of "the ten words." This theory rests wholly upon an interpretation of Ex. 34, 28*b* which to say the least is forced. There the covenant that is mentioned is distinguished from the covenant just given by the appositive, "the ten words," which shows that the person who wrote is

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not meant to be Moses but Yahweh, in accordance with uniform tradition in regard to the origin of the Decalogue. On p. 76 there is a lack of proper discrimination between the original text of H in Lev. 17 and the secondary priestly elements. The original H contained as free a law of sacrifice as the Book of the Covenant, and P's limitation applies only to the desert situation and was never meant to be put into operation. These, however, are minor matters which do not affect the validity of the author's main argument.

In regard to the age of the sources of the Hexateuch Mr. Gibson takes his stand with the school of Graf. Here he does not make it sufficiently plain that theories in regard to the age of the sources differ much more widely than in regard to the analysis. His method is more a statement of the Grafian position than of the reasons for that position, and consequently, this part of his work is inferior to the earlier portions. He also fails to show how on the Grafian hypothesis one can hold any higher estimate of the historical credibility of the sources.

L. B. PATON.

The Times of Jesus. BY LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD, B.D. (Handbook for Bible Classes.) New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 179. Price, 60 cents *net.*

As other volumes in this excellent series have already treated of the geography of Palestine and the inter-bibical history, the author of the present volume limits himself to description of Jewish life under Roman administration. In so doing he treats of the language, economic and daily life of Palestine, its administration, the various sects, and the Messianic hope. In addition, the volume contains an appendix upon the feasts of the Jews.

Wholly apart from the necessity of completing the series, this little volume has a mission of its own. To begin with, its style and literary finish are good. The author has the happy gift of presenting details in their proper perspective. His point of view is thoroughly modern (as may be seen in his use of critical events in the Old Testament, and his references to Paul's rabbinism), and if he has not often given references or literature, he has digested Schürer thoroughly. A further commendable quality is that of independent judgment that is evidently steadied by use of sources. Of this there is an exceedingly good illustration in his note in the *Book of Enoch*, p. 142. There is much suggestive writing also in regard to the whole matter of the Messiah-

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ship of Jesus and its relationship to the Jewish apocalyptic writings. In this connection, however, it is a little surprising to find that the author has not used his critical positions in regard to the *Book of Enoch* in his discussion of the term "Son of Man." A question as to method is further raised by his use of the gospels as sources so freely. Since so much of the apologetic element is inevitably involved in such works as this, would it not be more serviceable to get material wholly from extra-evangelistic sources? There is, indeed, throughout the book a notable lack of the use of rabbinical material.

If, however, we make these allowances, the book is altogether admirably adapted to its purpose. It is readable, well-proportioned, scholarly, and to commend it as a brief and stimulating introduction to the social history of New Testament times is a pleasure.

S. M.

LITERARY NOTES.

We have received from the Christian Literary Company (New York) the eighth volume of the *Lutheran Commentary*, edited by Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Notes on First Corinthians, Chapters 7–16, Second Corinthians*, and *Galatians*, by Henry Eyster Jacobs, George F. Spieker, and Carl A. Swensson. The volume is marked by few exegetical discussions, but is what it promises to be, a succession of comments and notes upon the translated text. The style is simple and clear, and the interpretation is sober. 404 pp.; 12mo., cloth. $1.50.

James M. Campbell's lectures, given by him at the summer session of the University of Chicago and the Macatawa Park Assembly, have been issued in a volume of about three hundred pages, entitled, *After Pentecost, What?* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, Chicago, and Toronto, $1). In it is discussed the work of the Holy Spirit in the World. Pentecost, in the author's opinion, though an historical fact of the past, has yet in it a truth which is to be especially emphasized today, namely, the presence of the Holy Spirit as a giver of life and energy. The object of the book is to trace the application of this truth to various sides of religious life. It is not only marked by the earnestness which characterizes the school of religious thinkers to which the author belongs, but also by commendable soberness in application and interpretation, although one is not quite ready to admit altogether the truth of the statement, "After Pentecost, the church, through the church the kingdom." The kingdom is older and greater than the

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church, although the church is one form of its expression. Those who listened to these stimulating lectures when they were delivered, will be glad to have them in permanent shape.

From The Macmillan Company come two volumes of Professor Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible*, "Daniel and the Minor Prophets," and "Biblical Masterpieces" (each, 50 cents). The editor has prefixed to the former an Introduction, in which he well emphasizes the literary importance of biblical literature, and says, "The Hebrews, no less than the Greeks, were our literary ancestors; to train ourselves in the productions of the one and not of the other means a distorted culture." The disposition of strophe and anti-strophe in the midst of a continuous address is admirably set forth in this volume by the use of italic types and marks of punctuation. While there are few explanations outside of this mechanical arrangement of the text (in itself a running commentary), there is added to the volume a series of notes, which will be of value to the student of interpretation. In no volume in this valuable series does the method of the editor appear to a better advantage, and anyone who reads the "Minor Prophets" in the form contained in this book will be surprised at the interest which attaches to the study. In "Biblical Masterpieces" Professor Moulton has brought together the choicest literary portions of the Old Testament under the headings of Stories, Oratory, Wisdom, Lyrics, Rhapsody, to which he has also added notes. While the idea and arrangements of the book are no longer novel, they are likely to prove most serviceable and stimulating in opening up the literary side of biblical literature.

We have received from the Central School Supply House, Chicago, Ill., a new papier-maché relief map of Palestine. This has been prepared under the general direction of Professor Ernest D. Burton of the University of Chicago, and is an admirable illustration of map making. It contains the principal boundaries, towns, rivers of Palestine in New Testament times, and is so light that it could be hung upon the wall of any Sunday School class room. It undoubtedly will come into general use in schools that desire something more than a mere roller map of the country. $20.00.

COLONEL CONDER'S *Syrian Stone Lore* has been issued in a new edition by the Palestine Exploration Fund, in which the information is brought down to date. This book now presents all that is known from the monuments about Palestine from the earliest times down to the loss of Acre in 1291 A. D.

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CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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CHILDREN IN PALESTINE.

By ANNA H. JESSUP,
Beirut, Syria.

IN WRITING of the children in Palestine at the present day, it must first of all be clearly understood that the people who live in Palestine are not all of the same race; that the inhabitants of different sections, or sometimes even of two villages near together, are of different religions, with sharply drawn lines of separation in customs and beliefs. Thus we find Druses on Mount Carmel; Metawileh in northern Galilee; Bedouin in Jericho to the south and throughout Moab; Circassians in their colonies east of the Jordan; both Catholic and Greek Christians in Haifa, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and nearly all the cities; Jews in Safed, Tiberias, Jerusalem, and their colonies near Cæsarea, near Jaffa, and about the waters of Merom and the upper Jordan; and Moslems in Acre, Hebron, Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus, and nearly all the villages. Druses, Bedouin, Metawileh, and Circassians are all regarded by the government as Moslem sects.

There seems to be no tie to bind all these various sects together except the debasing one of their common superstitions. These seem thoroughly ingrained into the nature of all, whatever their sect, and Jewish, Moslem, and Christian mothers alike

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have the haunting fear of the influence of the "evil eye"—a real and terrible power to the poor mothers. It is supposed to bring misfortune, disease, and death itself to the unhappy object of its malign influence. It may be warded off by charms or by use of the name of God. If, in visiting a family, you should notice a child, admire it, remark on its health, and say how well and fat it seemed, without also introducing the name of God into the sentence, the mother would be much alarmed, and would endeavor by a liberal use of the sacred name to repair the injury you might be inflicting; and if, within a few days, the child should sicken and die, it would be felt that you were responsible. It is well to remember, when you fall into the indiscretion of expressing admiration, to add at once the wish that the Lord would preserve the life and possessions, and add his blessing. Judging from the actions of the mother, you feel that this imaginary evil power is deemed to be the only one threatening the safety of the child, for she allows it liberties in food and in straying about that would seem to be fatal nine times out of ten. A nursing baby is promptly given anything it cries for—from cooked food to raw vegetables and unripe fruit. I have seen babies just beginning to creep allowed to eat green grapes and cucumbers. The wonder is, not that the evil eye does not smite them, but that they survive such careless treatment. Both Moslems and Christians tie lumps of alum, blue beads, teeth of animals, and amulets of many kinds about their children's necks or waists, or sometimes braid them tightly into their hair. All these ideas they have in common, but beyond that and being under the rule of the Turks there is nothing else, not even their festivals—if you except the one which marks the accession of the sultan and which is never observed with any spirit, if at all, except where Turkish influence is strong. Even the Greek and Latin Christians have their great church festivals twelve days apart. Taking all the feast days together of all the sects, if it were possible for one to observe them all, life would indeed seem "one long holiday." There are the two Christian New Year's days, also the Jewish and the Moslem at different times of our year, the Jewish Purim, the Christian carnivals and Easters,

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the Mohammedan Bairam and the Aied el Futr lasting three days; also their sultan's accession, his birthday, and that of the prophet; the Jewish Passover and Feast of Tabernacles; our Christmas, besides innumerable saints' days and minor feasts. Children in Palestine do have at least enough days appointed for enjoyment, and the Moslem children look forward as eagerly to their three days of Aied el Futr, after Ramadan, when they are dressed in new clothes as fine as their parents can give them and have merry-go-rounds and swings and plenty of sweets, as an American boy does to the Fourth of July.

While Jew, Moslem, and Christian differ somewhat in the way they bring up their children, yet the babies all have much the same treatment, and it is true of nearly all children in the East that they have almost nothing of what we call child life. While they are yet babies they are taught to run after and carry infants younger than themselves, and whatever work can be found which they can do is put upon them when very young.

The child begins life with a wail, uttering his protest against the woes of his existence before he has discovered that there are joys in store for him. He is promptly salted down (literally salt being rubbed over his whole body) and tied securely into his cradle, where he stays for hours and even days at a time, taking his food in that position, and becoming so accustomed to it that he rather likes it. At least he is philosophical enough not to cry over it or over the fact that the back of his head becomes flattened by lying on it so constantly. Most of the babies are wrapped in swaddling clothes, the arms fastened down to the sides and the whole baby looking like a funny doll. The Bedouin women are apt to carry their babies in their heavy dark veils, the ends tied across the forehead of the mother and the baby peeping out of the bundle on her back. Baths to these children are not even a luxury—they are unknown. This, of course, does not apply to the children of the young women educated in the boarding schools. They bathe their babies and take pride in keeping them fresh and clean. But the average baby does not have to be troubled with too much attention to toilet, as you can see for yourself in the picture of the two

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Bedouin women carrying their children on their shoulders. It is only in the most degraded villages that you see children running about entirely unclothed, but many of the older ones seem to possess nothing more satisfactory than rags, and it is a mystery how they fasten them on.

BEDOUIN MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

A number of older children can be seen in the picture of the tent of the Bedouin at Jericho. If you should go among them tomorrow with your kodak, you would probably see much the same sight; men, women, and children alike seem to have nothing to do which prevents them from sitting idle by the hour. Living is reduced to its lowest terms: the black goats' hair roof above them, the soiled torn clothing they wear, the coarse black bread they eat, all point to poverty and degradation. The children are like little animals, but seem to thrive, owing probably to the fact that they are out of doors most of the time. The boys have half of their heads shaved, leaving a lock in front. Were they to go away from their encampment, they would cover their heads with a cap or a "keffiyeh", as the men do, with a rope of twisted goats' hair to keep it on. As soon as the children are old enough they are sent off with the goats, or sheep, or cows; the

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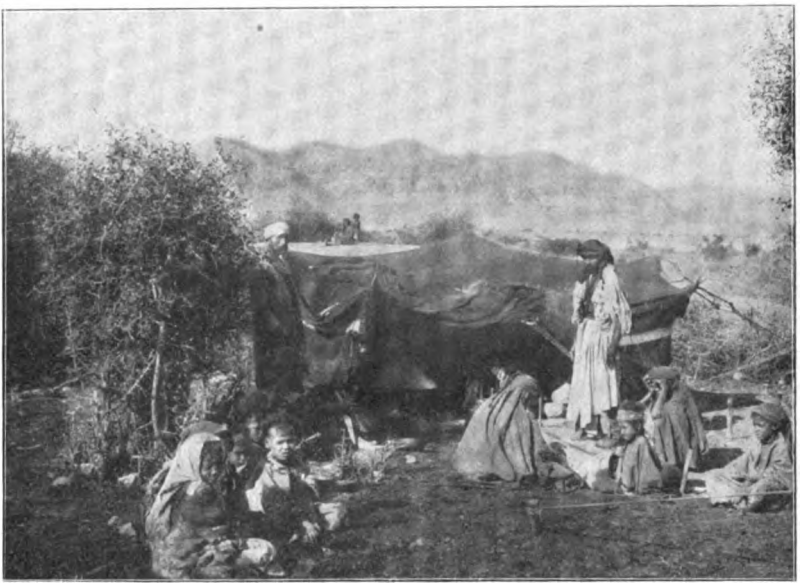
girls have their share of baby tending and helping with the simple housework. There are no dishes to wash, rarely are clothes washed, of course there is no ironing day, nor sweeping or dusting to be done. But I doubt whether any little girl who



BEDOUIN FAMILY

dislikes her share of the household duties in an American home would care to change it for the privilege of sharing this tent home life with its few burdens, after trying a day of it. Almost all girls in the East, except those living in cities, have the duty of going to the fountain for water at least twice a day. The little girls are early taught to fill, lift, poise, and carry the small jars on their shoulders or heads, as their elders do with the large jars. In this way they acquire a straight back and a graceful walk, but it is hard work, for they often have to go a long way, and carry the jars up steep hills in the hot sun.

The children in these tents grow up in utter ignorance of everything to be learned from books. They are always allowed to listen to whatever talk may be going on, and they very early

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learn to use bad, vile words, and to curse each other most fluently. To the modern traveler in the Holy Land it would seem as if the first word taught to every child was "backsheesh;" at any rate, it is the first word one hears from even the tiniest child as one passes through the streets or among the wheat fields and vineyards. Even from their mothers the children hear curses and dreadful language. There is something stolid and dull about many of the faces, especially among the girls, but now and then a pair of bright eyes or an intelligent face makes you long to try what good training would do for them. To us the tent and the primitive manner of living would hardly seem like home, but to them it doubtless is very cozy, and they certainly are devotedly attached to their own way of living and would be very homesick if forced to live in houses. They have the example of untold numbers of generations behind them, and in going among these tents we can picture to ourselves the lives of Abraham and the patriarchs and all of those who "dwelled in tents," for undoubtedly they lived very much as these tribes do now, sleeping under just such black roofs, eating the coarse bread, the curdled milk and goats' meat, that form today the chief food of the Bedouin, wearing flowing garments cut in the same fashion that we now see, and interested in much the same things.

Life in the Moslem villages and among the Metawileh is not of a very much higher grade, although they live in houses and in some parts of the country teach their boys something of their religion. The Bedouin can hardly be said to have a religion at all, it is so covered over with superstition. Among the Moslems the girls are looked down upon, are made to feel that they are unwelcome and of an inferior sex, and their lot is a hard one. When they are eleven or twelve they learn to wear veils and are married very soon after that, frequently having to do work suitable for grown women. Among the Circassian, in their colonies east of the Jordan, the girls are much freer and are not veiled until after marriage.

In the picture of the group of Metawileh you will notice that they seem to be hardy, robust men. They are all farmers or shepherds, and the boys are early accustomed to an outdoor life

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of hard work. They can walk great distances and seem tireless in energy. The sect is very exclusive, and the children are taught not to eat anything prepared by one of another sect, nor meat killed by an alien. They will give you an earthen jar to drink

GROUP OF METAWILEH

from, but break it at once, as your touch has defiled it. They have no objection, however, to money which has passed from hand to hand among many infidels. There are many religious sheiks among them, who are learned men, and the boys are not allowed to grow up in ignorance of their religion; some of them are taught to read. The government does not allow mission schools among these Moslem sects.

The Jewish children are, many of them, carefully instructed in the performance of the rites and ceremonies and religious duties expected of them. There are some examples of godly family life where the children are well brought up, but for the most part the families are huddled together and are as degraded as their neighbors, and it seems hard to rouse them to a desire

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for better things, bound down as they are by their ceremonial law, traditions, and superstitions. The picture chosen to show examples of Jewish boys is one where two of them are helping a vegetable vender to dispose of his wares. They have an aptitude for bargaining, and are bright and shrewd. The boys when taught trades make good, capable workmen, but their great curse is foreign support, which makes them idle and shiftless. I have come in contact with few Jews and know but little of their peculiar customs.

The group of six boys shows very well what is the appearance of the Greek, Greek-Catholic, Catholic, or Protestant Christian boys in both Palestine and Syria. They are bright, active little fellows, accustomed to having their own way and to feeling themselves of importance in the family, as all boys in the East are. They are rarely taught to control themselves, or to give up to others, and, if there is one boy in a family, he is the autocrat.

Perhaps a good way to let you see something of the home life of Christian children in the East is to follow a little girl and boy through a day of their lives. We will say that their father is a Greek and has the trade of a mason. Perhaps he lives in Nazareth and is comfortably well off, as he is able to work and support his family, although he stops work for the fifty feast days of his church, besides the Sundays. We will call the girl Miriam (or Mary) and the boy Yusef (Joseph). Both are very common names. The Bible names are much used, Abraham, Solomon, and David being especial favorites. The Moslems have characteristic names of their own, such as Mohammed, Ali, Mustupha, and Fatimeh and Ayesha for the girls. We will suppose that Miriam is nine years old and her brother Yusef seven. Yusef goes to school, taught by a Greek priest. Miriam began going, but had only gotten as far as the primer when her mother took her out, as she needed her at home, and she has now nearly forgotten what she had learned before.

The family is astir early in the morning—they have all been sleeping in a row on the floor, covered over with a heavily wadded quilt. The upper sheet is sewed firmly to the quilt, and

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changed now and then, as occasion requires. The children are ready for the day at once, for they do not have to go through the processes of undressing and dressing, and bathing and combing. Miriam's hair is braided with tight braids which are tied at the

GROUP OF CHRISTIAN CHILDREN

ends, and over her head is a square thin cotton veil called a "meudeel," folded cornerwise and tied under her chin. This she does not wear at night, and in the morning her toilet is complete when she has smoothed her hair away from her face, poured water over her hands, washed her face, and tied on the "meudeel." Perhaps once a week her mother will "get at" the children and comb their hair. The children who attend the mission schools are obliged to come each morning with smoothly combed hair and clean hands and faces.

There is no formal breakfast, but as the children feel hungry they come and ask for bread, and they have olives or a tomato or some remains of cold cooked food given them to eat with the bread. The main meal of the day is about sunset, and cooked

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food is usually prepared for that time, when the father comes home from his work. Miriam has been sent to the fountain with her jar, and Yusef is told to mind the younger children, while his mother folds up the beds and puts them away in the recess in the wall designed for them. The baby is tied in his cradle, the girls of four and two run in and out chasing the hens, which are as much at home in the living room as the children, and all of them are munching at their bread. They are all pretty children with dark eyes, sunburned faces, regular features, and thick, dark hair inclining to curl. Yusef wears a red cap called a tarboosh and a shirt of heavy striped cotton, lined and buttoned in front. Possibly a thin cotton shirt is worn under this in winter. The only other garment is of cotton, dyed a deep indigo blue and made into very full drawers, gathered in at the waist and with openings at the lower corners for the feet. Very frequently you see boys dressed in the "ghumbâz," which is like a shirt, only made long, coming down to the knees or below, and worn over the drawers, a girdle holding it in place at the waist. When dressed in this "ghumbâz" and the full drawers, a boy is well handicapped as to running, and I doubt if an American boy would tolerate such incumbrances for a day. In winter the boys are apt to wear either a very large handkerchief, called a "keffiyeh," or a small shawl tied around their heads and necks, although the feet and legs are bare. Yusef has shoes, though not for ordinary everyday wear, of red leather, with flat soles, the toes coming to a sharp point, and curling up a little. Sometimes you notice boys or men going from one town to another, trudging along over the stony roads with their bare feet, while they carry their shoes carefully in their hand, on the principle that shoes wear out while feet do not, if they are tough.

Miriam's dress is of gay print or of cotton dyed a dark blue and made simply with the skirt sewed to the short-waisted bodice. If she lived in Bethlehem, she would wear the picturesque costume peculiar to the women there and be early initiated into the mysteries of the ornamental needle work with which their garments are adorned. Miriam comes back with her jar. "Why were you so long, my daughter?" "There were many

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waiting their turn at the fountain, and when my turn came Im Brahim pushed me away, and I had to wait for fear she would break my jar, and then I had to come home the long way because the bad boys who live by the big oak tree were throw-

VEGETABLE DEALERS

ing stones at the girls." "Oh, the rascals! Your father shall go and break their heads; come, Miriam, help me with the bread." The two sit down on the floor to their work (almost all the work in an eastern home is done sitting on the floor—the small round table being about a foot high), and in due time a large straw tray is covered with the round balls of dough, and the mother puts it on her head and takes it to the public oven. Yusef paid scant attention to the children, but has been in the road in front of the house with his playfellows, the neighbor's children, engaged in a game of marbles. So engrossed are they that it seems to them hardly worth while to get out of the way for mules and donkeys passing along from time to time with their loads of wheat, cut straw, olive oil, or fruit. Yusef and his friends have their enthusiasm over different amusements in their season; now it is tops, now kites, now hopscotch, now snaring birds with twigs or bird lime. Occasionally you will see a boy riding a "stick horse," carefully selected from a stable full of fine Arabians, but it is not common. Marbles are always in season, and the playing is usually for "keeps." The children,

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especially the Moslems, learn to gamble very early. Yusef has soon to stop and run off to school, carrying his little calico bag for his primer as the other boys do.

The mother returns from the oven and brings with her a basket of fruit, and the children gather to eat it. Miriam cleans out the narghilehs that her father and his friends used the evening before, and later goes and carries some bread and fruit to her father who is working in the village. In the springtime she is very busy helping her mother feed and care for the silkworms. She has to help gather the fresh mulberry leaves, and it is a very absorbing work, for they have fresh food about five times in the twenty-four hours. In the fall the second crop of mulberry leaves feeds the family sheep. Each family buys one or two sheep, and it is systematically stuffed with the mulberry leaves made into a ball and forced down its throat until it is very fat. In October or November the sheep are killed and the meat is cooked in the fat and salted down for winter use. Miriam makes another trip to the fountain, and at sunset the family gathers for the evening meal; it may be of rice cooked in fat, with a stew of vegetables and meat, or it may be lentils, "Esau's pottage," or a salad savory with onions eaten with a cooked dish, or broiled meat. In some places the custom still prevails for the father and the sons to have their meal first, waited on by the mother and girls, who eat what is left later on. Miriam kisses her father's hands when he comes home and runs to do his bidding. People in the East are fond of children and like to have them about, indulging them one moment and scolding them the next. Miriam's pleasures are few. Perhaps what she enjoys most is the time she spends at the fountain, for, while waiting her turn, there is time to play and chatter with the other girls. One day is much the same as another, and in following the children thus far we can form an idea of what they will be likely to be doing through their childhood, till Yusef is apprenticed to a trade and Miriam, at fourteen or fifteen, probably is married. The picture of the small boy, by himself, is a cousin of Yusef's, who lives in Jerusalem, dressed in his best clothes, and feeling very fine and important.

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The children of Palestine are having much done for them, and Protestant mission schools are established in all the principal towns. There are boarding schools for girls in Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Light is pouring in, and we hope that the children of future generations will have intelligent, pious mothers, who will train their children to be obedient, truthful, and honest in all things, free from superstitions, and teach them to love and honor their Savior, who lived as a boy in their own land.

YUSEF'S COUSIN

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THE BOYHOOD OF JOSEPH.

By Professor Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D.,
Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Ordinarily the social customs of the ancient Orient gave little scope for love and romance. Marriage was so prevailingly a matter of convenience and policy that the few exceptions stand out from the dark background in striking relief. To understand the character and early history of Joseph ben Jacob it is necessary to go back to a scene beside a well not far from the Mesopotamian town of Haran. The age is the patriarchal; the stage of civilization, the nomadic; the hour, midday. Near the well, which is covered with a huge stone to protect it from the hot eastern sun, are three flocks of sheep, one of them approaching from a short distance, driven by a graceful, sunbrowned daughter of the East. Already the group of shepherds lounging beside the well has been joined by a youth whose accent and bearing indicate that he is a stranger. Pleasantly he accosts them, inquiring whence they come; and, when he finds that they are from Haran, he eagerly adds: "Do you know Laban, the son of Nahor?" Well do they know him. In fact, the young girl approaching, driving the flock, is his daughter Rachel. One intent gaze at the stately maiden, whose face was lighted and beautified by those flashing eyes which proclaimed the charm, the passion, and the ambition within, called forth from the homesick stranger that chivalry — so rare in his age, and yet the omnipresent herald of a true love. Ardent lover that he was, he had no patience with the shepherds who, in accordance with their custom, would keep this fair queen waiting until all the flocks were collected. Genuine love ever seeks expression in deeds, and so, as soon as Rachel stood beside the well, the strong arms of the stranger had rolled away the huge stone. Like many modern impetuous lovers, he forthwith claimed a kiss as

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his reward. The biblical narrative does not suggest that the maiden resisted. The sudden transition from the lot of a homesick wanderer to that of an accepted lover so affected the passionate son of the East that he burst out into weeping. His tears were tears of joy, however, for the stranger was Jacob, and the fair Rachel his cousin.

True love in the past, as in the present, encountered obstacles; but after repeated disappointments and long years of faithful waiting they were wedded. The first offspring resulting from that union was a boy to whom they gave the name of Joseph. Thus the heritage of love, which he enjoyed from his birth, gave him an advantage enjoyed by few in that ancient oriental world where genuine and deep affections between father and mother were rare. The home at Haran, however, into which the little Joseph was born, was not altogether one of peace and happiness. Envy and rivalry, the ever present attendants of polygamy, separated the children of Jacob's large family; while an abnormally developed sharpness in dealing, which was the greatest fault in the character of both Jacob and his father-in-law, Laban, constantly kept the relations between them highly strained. Indeed, so strained did they in time become that soon after the birth of Joseph, Jacob, improving a favorable opportunity, collected his family and flocks, and fled westward. Although he was overtaken in the east Jordan uplands of Gilead by the incensed Laban, the same Providence which had guarded him hitherto delivered him from his kinsman, and he pursued his way to Hebron, stopping for a time among the verdant pasture lands of central Canaan. The scene of Joseph's boyhood, therefore, was in the neighborhood of Hebron. To the stranger who first gazes upon the hills and valleys which surround this ancient city it seems the most uninviting spot in all Canaan. The gray limestone rocks occupy more than half of the surface and give the impression at a distance of covering the ground completely. The agricultural Canaanites, who entered the land long before the clan of Abraham migrated westward, regarded it as so inferior to the plains of the north that they had left it unoccupied. To nomads, however, it appealed strongly, because it supplied the

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two necessities for their existence, water and pasturage. The springs of Hebron had not their equal in all the south country, while in the valleys and between the rocks grew the rich, short grass, which the sheep and cattle snatch up eagerly. The ruggedness of the scenery also appealed to the nomadic instincts On the south they could continue in touch with the wanderers of the desert; while on the east the Dead Sea, surrounded by barren, rounded hills, increased the wildness and isolation of the situation. The traveler who mounts from the Philistine plain, through a narrow, frowning gorge, to the highlands of Judah naturally regards Hebron as a storm-swept eagles' nest perched on the heights. Its barrenness, its wildness, its isolation, all attracted the Benê Abraham, and in turn entered into their very character. Rough, rude men they were, little affected by the Canaanitish civilization, already hoary and decaying, with which they came into contact in certain parts of the land.

Ungovernable in their passions, impatient of restraint or opposition, they lived most happily when separated from each other and their neighbors by many broad acres. The hills and valleys about Hebron proving insufficient for themselves and their flocks, they scattered northward, finding on the rich plains of central Canaan a luxuriant pasturage, which attracted and held them.

Hence the boy Joseph probably saw little of his older brothers, and for the same reason saw more of his father, Jacob. The fact that Joseph was the child of his advanced years, and the eldest son of his favorite wife, gave the boy the first place in the paternal heart. The death of Rachel, which occurred while Joseph was still a small child, deprived him of a mother's care, and at the same time deepened his father's love for him. It was not strange, therefore, that the partiality which Jacob constantly showed toward the mother was transferred to the son.

The child grew up at the patriarchal home near Hebron without restraint, and without that close companionship of equals which is essential to the normal development of every boy. He was surrounded only by servants, from whom, as his father's favorite, he could command absolute obedience, and

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consequently failed to gain that true perspective which was necessary to put him in the right relations with his brothers. If their all too well-founded jealousy of him had not raised a wall of separation, there would still have been little in common between their rude, roving natures and that of the thoughtful, ofttimes lonesome lad, who spent his childhood among the wild hills of southern Judah. If his father spoiled him, he nevertheless imparted to him the ambitions of his family, and that religious heritage, the faith in Jehovah, which alone distinguished the Benê Abraham from the thousands of wandering clans, who were struggling for home and for subsistence in that seething Semitic world.

A patriarch of old, as a king like David or an Arab sheik of today, named his successor, and the choice was usually regarded by the clan. That Jacob would choose his beloved Joseph, the eldest son of his favorite wife, was a foregone conclusion. Thus the older brothers seem to have reasoned. Perhaps the fond father may have whispered it into Joseph's ear. That may have been the significance of the elaborate robe with which his father clad him, and account for the rage which is kindled in the minds of his brothers. Certainly the position which he held in his parent's heart suggested it, and the boy understood. Thus the sense of responsibility, as well as the fact that his father was his chief companion, developed him in certain ways beyond his years.

Dreams, which frequently throw into clear relief the ideas latent in the awakened consciousness and which were universally regarded by antiquity as a message from the Deity, came to him. At one time he dreamed that he was gathering sheaves in the field with his brothers, when lo! his sheaf arose and stood upright, while their sheaves came and bowed before his. The significance of the dream was plainly obvious.

At another time he dreamed that the sun and moon and eleven stars made obeisance to him. Then in his simplicity he told these dreams to his brothers, whose feelings can easily be imagined. They were still further irritated by his action on another occasion. At the age of seventeen, while spending a

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few days with them as they were feeding their flocks, he observed certain things which did not seem to him to be right, and accordingly reported them to his father. Such action was not calculated to engender that fraternal affection of which there was a sore need in the heterogeneous family of Jacob. "A tell-tale' they undoubtedly called him, and not without foundation.

We are, none of us, quite sure that we would have enjoyed being one of Joseph's elder brothers. An uncomfortable boy to get along with he certainly was; but the more thoughtful student of his character would be loth to admit that he was a hypocrite. What his brothers must have regarded as arrogant hypocrisy was due primarily to his intense earnestness and simplicity. Claims of superiority in so young a lad seemed absurd; but we must recognize the fact that he was honest in making them. The readiness with which he recounted his dreams to his brothers reveals not only his lack of tact, but also his genuineness. If he had been a hyprocrite he would have been less naïve.

Undoubtedly the conduct of his brothers was by no means perfect. A boy with a lower ideal and more wordly-wise would not have reported their misdemeanors. Without question his dreams unpleasantly reveal his ambitions; but his ambitions to excel his brothers, when we know what they were, command our admiration rather than disapproval. The narrative, therefore, introduces us to an inexperienced lad, whose development in many ways has been abnormal. At the stage of advancement in which we are studying him he is not altogether attractive; but underneath are the foundations of a strong character. His ideal was high, his sense of duty strong and well developed, his faith in Jehovah firm, and his ambitions as noble as they were unbounded. When the supreme test came, one might be sure that he would not be found wanting, but that he would come forth from the furnace of affliction refined of that dross in his character which, at the age of seventeen, concealed the true gold.

The test came soon, as it always does to those who need it. The jealousy and hatred which his brothers felt towards him at last reached a climax. Strangely enough, his father seems to

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have remained in complete ignorance of their feeling. This fact suggests how little he saw of them, and how completely Jacob's ardent love for his favorite blinded him to facts. Joseph himself in his simplicity does not seem to have entertained a single suspicion. Hence, when Jacob wished to send a message to his elder sons, who were with their flocks near Shechem, it was Joseph whom he sent. Following the shepherd instincts, the brothers had driven their flocks up through the rich, broad valleys of Ephraim to the vicinity of Dothan, lying almost on the borders of the great plain of Esdraelon. As they see the lad in the distance, coming up the long, wide valley, they recognize at once his tunic from its rich colors, so dear to the oriental eye, yet so hateful to them. As the unsuspecting Joseph approached, like a red flag it waved before them, inciting them to deeds of bloodshed. "Let us slay this 'interpreter' (literally 'master') of dreams," they cry. Reuben, feeling the responsibility of the oldest son, is able only to deter them from carrying their threat into immediate execution by appealing to the deep-seated Semitic antipathy to shedding blood, and by suggesting that they cast him into a cistern near at hand, hoping thereby to be able to release him later. The narrative does not suggest that Joseph made any resistance. Probably he was struck dumb with astonishment, for in his simple innocence he seems to have been quite unaware of the hatred which his brothers entertained toward him. Stripped of his princely robe, cast by his own kinsmen into a well to die, the young Joseph was awakened as suddenly as cruelly to the darker realities of life. In the school of trial and suffering, which he then entered, he was to learn those lessons which are absolutely necessary to make a well-developed man.

The wandering Arabian tribes known as the Midianites and Ishmaelites rarely brought to the Hebrews anything but disaster and loss; but to Joseph they proved saviors. While his brothers are eating their coarse shepherd meal near the place of his confinement, a band of these ancient gypsies, laden with spices and other products of the fertile heights of Gilead, came along the road which ran near Dothan through the valleys of

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northern Ephraim to join the great highway leading to Egypt. To the brethren the presence of these traders suggested a happy solution of the question of how to dispose of their captive without soiling their hands with his blood. Irresponsible and unprincipled as their Bohemian brothers today, the Ishmaelites were quite ready to venture to purchase without question the stalwart youth, who was forthwith drawn up from the well. Twenty pieces of silver, the regular price of a bond servant in that old Semitic world where the barter of human beings was by no means uncommon, were duly counted out, and the all-but-spoiled favorite son of Jacob was borne off as a slave to the valley of the Nile. Reuben, who had been absent during the transaction, is forced to become a party to the crime. The crafty brothers found no difficulty in devising a plan to conceal their perfidy. Joseph's many-colored robe was dipped in the blood of a kid and brought to their aged father with a sinister tale of finding it and of wondering to whom it belonged. Jacob, so cunning in his youth, so unsuspicious in his dotage, drew, as they had anticipated, the sad inference that his beloved son had been torn to pieces by a wild beast. Long and deeply he lamented his loss, and unavailing was the consolation which his hypocritical sons attempted to offer. Gradually, however, he transferred his affections to Rachel's younger son, Benjamin, and the "dreamer" faded from the memory of the tribe of Jacob.

Most men advance by imperceptible gradations from boyhood to young manhood. Although he may have already passed his twentieth year, Joseph descended into the dry well near Dothan a boy. Shielded by a tender parental care, life had brought him little of experience, and hence little practical development. When he was drawn up, it was a man whom the Ishmaelites purchased. Into a few awful moments some of the bitterest experiences which come to mortals had been compressed. False opinions of his own importance were scattered to the winds, and he at last recognized that, if he was to win a place among his fellows, it must be by his own faithfulness and efforts. The land of Egypt, whither he was carried, brought to him temptations, trials, and opportunities. Amidst them all,

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the simple, strong sense of duty, the firm faith in Jehovah, and the exalted ideal which characterized the boy, upheld and guided the man. In his harsh contact with the world he soon gained a true perspective of life. Men with such a character as he possessed are always in demand. It was but natural that when a great need arose in Egypt for a leader and organizer, whose honesty and fidelity no one could question, he was the man selected. Thus the misunderstood and much-wronged shepherd boy, who nevertheless kept his ideals unsullied and who remained loyal to his conscience and his God, became the savior and virtual ruler of proud Egypt. To this was added the crowning glory of delivering his kinsmen and clan, and of raising them to positions of honor and wealth. The ambitions of the youthful dreamer were more than realized. The brothers, who had wronged him so deeply, bowed before him, not under the pressure of force or by virtue of power which a partial father had conferred upon him, but because of the exalted service which he was able to perform for them and theirs. The story, and the characters which it presents are as simple and attractive as the age to which they belong; but the principles which they so graphically illustrate are as true in their application to the complicated life of today as to that of the far-distant past. Should perchance the historical study of the biblical narratives which gather about the name of Joseph demonstrate that they represent the form in which later generations preserved their primitive race traditions, Joseph will continue to live in the literature and memory of the Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan world, and to give help and suggestion to the boys who, amidst temptations and adverse circumstances, are striving to develop strong, noble, and useful characters.

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THE BOYHOOD OF MOSES.

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THE only information regarding the life of Moses prior to his entrance upon his public career is contained in the second chapter of the book of Exodus.[1] The meager details there given afford us glimpses not so much into his boyhood as they do into his infancy, on the one hand, and his young manhood, on the other.

We shall use the term boyhood in a somewhat wide sense and include under it the life of Moses until his flight into the land of Midian.

Since it is true that the boy is the father of the man, the boyhood of a man who climbed to such stupendous heights of achievement as did Moses must be full of suggestion and inspiration; and, though we have but very little material for tracing the steps by which the boy evolved into the man, as he stands sublime in history, we may from the known facts concerning his later career infer much that the boy must have been.

If there is inspiration for us in the life of a Cromwell, a Washington, a Lincoln, there is tenfold more in the superb career of the man Moses, whose gigantic presence looms up far away among the shadows of history's dawn. The story of his early life may be considered under three divisions:

1. His infancy and early childhood.
2. His career as an Egyptian prince.
3. His return to his brethren.

1. Moses was born a slave. His father and mother and all his race were bondmen groaning under the tyranny of the kings of Egypt.

It is difficult for us to picture to ourselves what it is to be

[1] Josephus adds legendary material, *Antiquities*, II, 9–10.

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a slave, though but a generation has passed since there were four millions of them in this country. It is an awful thing not to belong to one's self; to be like the dumb animals that can be beaten and abused without means of redress, at the caprice of a brutal or indifferent master.

The world is very slow to learn the lesson of the rights of man. On the very continent where Moses was born there are today some fifty millions of slaves, of whom five hundred thousand die every year, chiefly as the result of the outrageous treatment they undergo at the hands of their fellow-men.[1]

But the story tells us that this infant slave was doomed to death from his birth. The Pharaoh (we have no means of knowing with certainty which one it was) had issued orders that the male children born to the Hebrews should not be permitted to live. They were increasing in number too rapidly. Settled, as they were, on his northeastern frontier, he feared lest they might make common cause with some invader and rise up in rebellion against their oppressor.

The tradition has survived that the babe was unusually beautiful; in any case it would be beautiful in its mother's eyes, and a mother's love succeeded for three anxious months in concealing the fact of its birth from the prying eyes of the king's officers. The time came, however, when concealment was no longer possible. A desperate chance was left. Perhaps the princess, whose custom it was to come down escorted by her maidens to bathe in Egypt's sacred stream, might be moved to compassion by the loveliness of the child. And so the mother's hands fashioned a little cradle of reeds and made it watertight with asphalt; into this the little one was carefully laid, bedewed with its mother's tears, and gently lowered into the water in the midst of the tall rushes by the river's bank; the child's sister was left to watch from a distance and bring news of the outcome.

Moses' mother, Jochebed, believed in God. She had done the best she could for her child in spite of the king's commandment (Heb. 11:23), and now she had committed his young life

[1] From the statistics of the Philafrican League.

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to the God of her fathers, little knowing how wondrously he was to reward her faith.

The princess came down to the river, she noticed the covered basket floating on the water, her heart was moved when she saw the beauty of its little occupant and heard his plaintive cries. She determined to save the child in spite of his belonging to the despised Hebrew race.

At this juncture the eager sister appears and volunteers to fetch a Hebrew woman to serve as nurse. Thus it came about that Jochebed received her child again and pressed him to her heart for the first time without fear and trembling lest he be torn from her. He was to be hers until old enough to begin his education at court, for he was destined to be the princess' adopted son.

Similar stories of infant exposure to danger and subsequent rescue are told of other great men, especially concerning Sargon, who reigned in the valley of the Euphrates more than two thousand years before Moses. Sargon's experiences were strikingly like those of Moses. So, also, Cyrus, nearly a thousand years after Moses, is the hero of a story of infant peril. Such narratives reflect the instinctive thought of man that those who have played a great rôle in history must have enjoyed special protection and favor from God; and yet it is nearer the truth to recognize that God's goodness is over all his works, and that the humblest life is crowded with as real, though perhaps not so conspicuous, instances of his favor and loving care.

In the tenth verse of our chapter in Exodus we read, "*and the child grew.*" It behooves to ponder this statement well, for it contains the key to the whole subsequent career of the hero of Israel. To the influences that were brought to bear on him at this early period is due the entire development that followed.

How old was he when he was parted from his mother to begin his experiences in court? We can but conjecture, and yet probably we are safe in surmising that he was at least seven, and not more than twelve.

Let us assume the lesser age. At seven years the character of Moses was formed, the bent for life had been given to it.

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Brought up a Hebrew of Hebrews, such he was destined to remain. The young man, who, later on, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, in spite of his having been trained for years with that rôle in view, had been for seven years, and those the most impressionable and plastic of his life, under the formative influence of a mother's training, and that mother had bent the twig in the direction she wished it to abide in as a tree.

We cannot understand the career of Moses unless we perceive in it the all-controlling force of parental influence. What Moses became — at any rate, what he did not become, that he did not become an Egyptian, but remained a Hebrew — was due to his father and mother.

The boy is, indeed, the father of the man, and we must go back farther than that: the infant is the father of the boy. Jochebed knew that her time was short; she knew what was in store for her child; her mother's heart must have been sorely tried. On her it depended whether her darling should enjoy all that the world has to give at a cost of his religion, or whether he should be bound with unbreakable ties to the traditions and the fate of his enslaved kinsmen for the sake of the God whom they worshiped. An indulgent mother would have decided for the easier destiny, but she was the kind of mother whose sons must needs become great.

The battle which her son was yet to fight she, too, was called on to fight before him, and her victory at this time was the harbinger of his later on. A victory the results of which have affected the history of the world for all time. Thus she consecrated those precious years to the formation of the child's character, impressing her stamp upon it in indelible lines. From her he learned those lessons of patriotism, of loyalty to race and kindred, of sympathy for the weak and oppressed, of faithfulness to his highest convictions of God and duty, which were displayed so conspicuously in his later history. She told of the experiences that awaited him as a prince in Pharaoh's palace, of the splendors and vices of the court, of the temptations that would come to him to despise and disown his bondmen brothers; she taught him that every advantage he should acquire

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of education and position was his, not to be selfishly enjoyed, but to be regarded as a sacred trust for the benefit of the oppressed. "And the child grew," grew up under his mother's fostering influence, grew up with her stamp upon him, grew up forewarned and forearmed.

When the time came for his removal to the palace, the mother could trust God that he would again restore to her her son, even as he had done so wondrously once before, unscathed by the pernicious influences of the court, adorned with its advantages. She had done her part. God would do his.

It is the influence of the nursery that molds the future man. How insufficiently do parents, as a rule, appreciate their responsibilities for the life, the character, the godliness of their children, and the quasi-omnipotence God has placed within their hands to mold at will the men and women that are to be.

The Paris *Figaro* has recently given a remarkable instance of parental devotion. "There is now living in the French penal colony of New Caledonia a woman whose devotion to her convict son is so self-sacrificing as to deserve the Menthyon prize for the highest virtue. A few years ago the woman's son, an idle, dissolute fellow, who on the strength of his good looks was supported by his mother and relatives, was brought to trial for a brutal murder. He would have been sent to the guillotine but for the pleading of his mother, who came to court every day and begged with tears for the life of her son. He had disgraced her and treated her with cruel indifference, but she loved him in spite of it all, and her pathetic entreaties saved his life. He was condemned to penal servitude in New Caledonia. The mother sold her furniture, her cow and chickens, and followed him. On her arrival she managed to obtain subsistence by washing and scrubbing, and is now barely able to maintain herself. But poor though she is, even when she cannot provide a meal for herself, she never fails to bring a dinner to her son. Every day she makes her way to the quarry, where, with ball and chain around his ankle, he is employed in breaking stones. She carries a basket in which there is some soup and some little delicacy that she has earned by toiling like

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a slave. The son eats it greedily, never utters a word of thanks nor kisses the old woman. He is utterly incorrigible, and has killed one of his fellow-prisoners. He would have been executed for that offense but for the regard the authorities feel for his mother. Yet he has not the least affection for her, insults and despises her, but he is her son, and she lavishes all her love upon him and is killing herself with work and privation that he may have his daily dainties."

Touching as such a story is from one standpoint, it serves but to confirm the conviction that the parental love which manifests itself merely in indulgence, self-sacrificing though it may be, is of the nature of a curse, rather than a blessing, to its object. The fate and future of that convict son had once been in his mother's hands. She misused her supreme opportunity either from weakness or from unintelligence.

That her son is a condemned criminal is due in the last analysis to what she had done, or, at least, had left undone. No one liveth to himself. We are indissolubly affiliated with our social environment, acting upon it and being acted upon by it. The parent is, or ought to be, the formative environment of the child. What the parent determines the child may become.

2. The career of Moses as an Egyptian prince. This is dismissed in the narrative with the pregnant words: "And he became her son," the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter. The name she gave him, and by which he is known to history, is Egyptian, and means "son."[1]

It would be interesting to reconstruct in imagination his surroundings during these years, and the various influences that were brought to bear upon him. The result, however, could be at best but unsatisfactory, in view of the uncertainty that still hangs over the chronology and of our limited knowledge.[2]

But in spite of our ignorance of the details of his experience during these years, certain general conditions under the influence of which he came are reasonably certain.

[1] Mes or Messu. This sounds as though from a Hebrew root, meaning "to draw out;" hence the explanation of the name given in the text. Vs. 10.

[2] For an elaborate attempt at such a reconstruction, see *Moses, his Life and Times*, chaps. 3, 4, 5, by GEORGE RAWLINSON (Men of the Bible Series).

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There is in the gallery of Luxembourg, in Paris, a picture called "The Bearers of Bad News to Pharaoh." It represents the king lying under a canopy beneath the starlit sky; his hands are clinched in anger and vexation. At his feet, along the steps leading from the terrace, are the bleeding bodies of swarthy-skinned men. They are couriers who brought news not to the king's liking. They have been smitten down at his feet as a partial outlet for his vexation. They had done nothing but to run as they were bidden, and this is their reward.

The scene is typical of royalty throughout the ages. A king in history is a man claiming divine authority to do as he pleases. That men have rights that even kings are bound to respect is a very modern discovery. At the dawn of the twentieth century, and in these United States, the idea that power is a sacred trust, to be used for the benefit of others, is one that has by no means as yet become a commonplace. Kingship historically is synonymous with absolutism and the exhibition of supreme selfishness. What is true of kings is equally true of princes and courtiers.

The training of Moses to play the part of prince, whatever accomplishments it may have involved, meant the developing of all that was selfish, imperious, and domineering in his nature. Are we able to find evidence of such tendencies in Moses' subsequent history? What says the record? His career begins with a deed of violence (vss. 11, 12). Much as we must sympathize with the motive that actuated him in his chivalrous interposition on behalf of his oppressed Hebrew brother, we cannot but recognize in his hasty act the deed of one accustomed to give full rein to his impulses. It was a prince's deed, as men have learned by experience to recognize kings and princes.

And the close of his career is precipitated, according to the narrative, by an unfortunate outburst of temper (Numb. 20:9–12; Ps. 106:32, 33). It was again the haughty, overbearing prince who spoke in the words: "Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?"

Yet this was the man of whom it is said (Numb. 12:3): "Now the man Moses was very meek above all men which were upon the face of the earth." In the imperiousness we see the natural

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fruitage of his early training as Egyptian prince; in his meekness we behold the fruit of the Spirit, the result of years of suffering and struggle and self-control. Glorious does Moses stand forever as an example of what determination and devotion to right may accomplish in the way of transformation of early characteristics, the result of youthful training, so that the domineering scion of the Egyptian court became in after years the meekest of men. At the same time most impressive is the story of the momentary flaring up in his last days of that old temper, undoing the work of years of self-mastery and faithfulness. It shows that the marks carved by the habits of youth upon the substance of character are hard to obliterate, so that relapse is possible even after long years of successful overcoming.

3. It remains for us to consider how the boy prince became a slave again; how it was that he forfeited his glorious prospects as son of Pharaoh's daughter, to become an outcast and a fugitive.

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews sums up the matter thus (11 : 26): "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt, for he had respect unto recompense of the reward."

The standpoint of the author is, of course, homiletical rather than historical. He represents Moses as foreseeing from the first the far-reaching consequences of his action, as rejoicing beforehand in the day of the Messiah, and looking forward to its recompense. Yet he is right in calling the reproaches Moses bore for his brethren's sake as the reproach of Christ, for it has been true from the beginning, and it will be to the end, that what is done for the sake of the least of our brethren is acknowledged by Christ as having been done unto him.

It might be urged that Moses, according to the narrative in Exodus, had no choice in the matter; that he was obliged to fly in order to save his life when he learned that his killing of the Egyptian who had maltreated the Hebrew had been discov-

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ered. This is true superficially, but the epistle to the Hebrews is right, after all. Moses' choice was made when he went out unto his brethren and looked on their burdens. The surest evidence of sympathy for people and of an intention to do something to help them is the undertaking of personal investigation into their condition. The heart of Moses yearned over his brethren, otherwise he would have kept as far from them as he could. He would have shut eyes and ears to what would, in any wise, remind him of them, and of his lowly origin among them. Personal investigation meant personal sympathy, and that meant that the mother's early influence was all-controlling still, that he was a Hebrew to the core, and had not been Egyptianized. It meant that he could not continue to enjoy with quiet conscience an environment contrasting so glaringly with that of the people.

What his plans might have been we do not know. He may have been devising how he could use his personal influence and the authority of his rank to alleviate the grievous burdens of his own flesh and blood. At any rate, that visit of sympathetic investigation is decisive as to the deepest trend of his life and purpose. Events, it is true, were precipitated by his rashness in killing the Egyptian, but the result would have been the same in any case. As between the riches of Egypt and the reproach of his brethren he had made the great decision to cast in his lot with the latter.

What grandeur of character this choice implies! We glorify Moses for it, as well we may, but we must not forget the mother's heart that foresaw the crisis that was to come, and prepared for it so many years before.

We must not suppose that Moses had not the struggles that any one of us would have had under the same circumstances. It is the supremest triumph the human spirit can achieve: being rich voluntarily to become poor for the sake of others; to empty itself of glory and ease, to sever the associations of years, to incur contempt and contumely, and that without the romantic compensation of full appreciation and acclaim from those for whose sake the great sacrifice is made. The way of the servant

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of men is hard; recognition comes late, even when not wholly posthumous; discouragements are innumerable. But the chief characteristic of love is that it never faileth, and love is the only power sufficient for such self-sacrifice. It was love that dominated Moses; love for the unattractive and the unlovely and the unappreciative.

Thus it was that Moses, though he knew it not, became the glorious type of Him who was to do for the human race what Moses consecrated himself to do for his kinsmen, the Hebrews, of that Christ who, for our sake, became poor that we, through his poverty, might be rich.

We leave Moses, at the close of his romantic boyhood, a young man full of chivalry for the oppressed. The parting glimpse discloses him rescuing from oppression the daughters of the priest of Midian, whom he encounters on his way to that schooling in the knowledge of God whence he will come forth commissioned of God to set his people free.

Moses stands supreme in history in three exalted rolls: as a mediator, a liberator, and an innovator; all three of these elements combine to make up a prophet.

As a mediator, he was a chosen instrument who was enabled to apprehend the true nature of God as men had not learned to know him before.

As a liberator, he led a race of slaves out from odious tyranny into freedom and gave them the beginnings of a true conception of the God of the universe.

As an innovator, he laid the foundations on which arose, in the course of the centuries, first, the Jewish church, and then its crown and completion, the church of Christ, whose influence is yet to dominate the world.

The part that Moses has played in the history of humanity, in its grandeur and its far-reaching consequences, is without parallel among the sons of men. It was because he was faithful to what he knew was his duty — the duty of love and service, the espousal of the cause of the oppressed, in spite of the most powerful influences tending to hold him back — that God was

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able to use him more and more, and to glorify him because he was willing to be used.

He remains forever the type of those who endure because they see Him who is invisible, who are willing to sacrifice the seen for the unseen, the lesser for the more excellent gifts, the present to the future, self to others.

MOSES—MICHAEL ANGELO

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THE BOYHOOD OF DAVID.

By Rev. O. P. Gifford, D.D.,
Buffalo, N. Y.

Every web is made up of two sets of threads, warp and woof; the interweaving of these two gives substance and pattern. The web depends for its value upon the quality and color of the thread and the skill in weaving. In choice cloths we lose sight of the thread in the web and of the color in the pattern; the new product attracts our attention.

Every human life is a web made up of two sets of threads, heredity and environment, ancestry and surroundings; the result is a new personality. When this is strong and clear we think little of the forces that blend to make it. Weak men over-emphasize ancestry or surroundings, and remind you of one or the other at every turn; strong men so blend the two in a new personality as to lose both and present a new product. David was a great man; in him ancestry and surroundings so blended that we must study carefully to find traces of both, so blended as to give us one of the masters of men.

Of David's mother nothing is known. Her origin and name are behind a veil, as her face used to be. Eastern history is written by men; the feminine gender is not emphasized as in the West. David's father was Jesse of Bethlehem, the chief man of the town; it was probably honor enough for her to be married to the sheik of the village; her humble name and ancestry were lost in his larger life. On his father side David was of mixed blood; the red currents of Canaan and Moab mingled with the blood of Judah. The mountains of Moab had a claim on the boy; the traditions of the country and folk beyond Jordan were wrought into his mind by teaching in the home. "Blood will tell" in brute or man; the family memory of the beautiful woman driven to the fields of Boaz by the famine was a part of

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David's life. We can see the lad leaning against his father's knee, amid the gathering shadows, being taught the law of Moses, the traditions of the flood, the wanderings of Abraham, the creation, and mingling with them the story of Boaz and Ruth; we can see the lad gazing eagerly across the river toward the purple hills of Moab, and reliving in imagination the life of his father's folk beyond the Jordan. When driven forth by Saul he turns naturally to the king of Moab for shelter. His ancestry broadened his sympathies, widened his horizon, enlarged his life.

The name David—beloved—is an open window into the family life. He was the youngest of ten children, a son of Jesse's old age. After the daughters and older sons had passed out of youth, this boy was laid in the arms of age to cheer and comfort. He was a sort of Indian summer in the year of Jesse's life, gathering in the warmth of his love. As the youngest son, we doubt not the older boys slighted and bothered him some. Human nature is a pretty constant quantity, but this would only drive him more often to the close shelter of a mother's love.

David was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The little town is much the same today as in David's time. "Six miles from Jerusalem and three hundred feet above it is Bethlehem. Like Jerusalem, it forms a sort of peninsula, clinging on one side to the mountains which surround it, and inaccessible on every side The well, certainly an ancient one, is outside the modern town, and around this all the public life of the place centered. By the well and beside the gate was the forum, the focus of social life in the East. Evening and morning the inhabitants gathered there, the flocks were brought to water by the shepherds, and the young girls, pitcher on shoulder, came to draw the water wanted for the house." (Stapfer.)

The town was the center of the surrounding life. Jesse was a weaver of sacred carpets, and a keeper of sheep. The green slopes outside the walls gave rich pasturage to the white flocks. David was sent out to watch the sheep. It was a time of war; the older sons were in the camp. The tribes were slowly crystallizing into a kingdom under the pressure of enemies. Saul,

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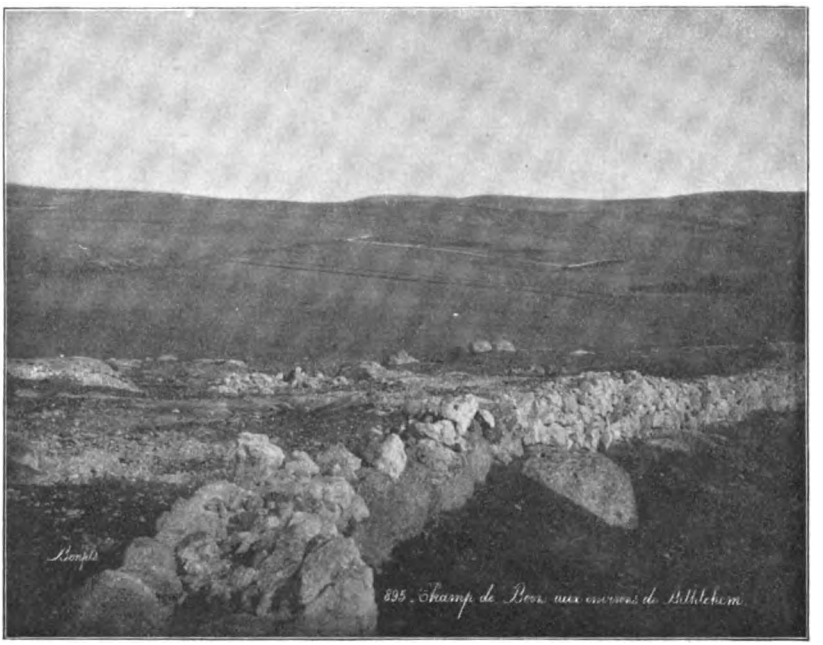
the son of Kish, was the center of the movement. The air was filled with conflicting rumors; ever and again stories came to the quiet home among the hills of struggle, defeat, and victory. We who recall the struggle of the sixties, when we were too



FIELD OF BOAZ, NEAR BETHLEHEM

young to fight but old enough to share the fever of war, will remember how we read the papers, studied Harper's and Leslie's weeklies, built forts of snow and organized battles in the winter, and built gunboats and launched navies on brooks and lakes in the summer; the one prayer of our young lives was that the war might last until we were old enough to enlist. The battle cloud hung heavy over homes far from the scenes of strife: the war was a part of our lives.

David was a boy when a nation was being made; he might watch the peaceful flocks, but to him they were organized armies; the forest by the pasture side was a hostile city, the lurking lion and bear a Philistine enemy. Imagination lifted the common-

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place into the heroic, and transfigured the daily drudgery into valiant struggle. While the sheep eat, the shepherd fights; he chooses the smoothest stones from the wayside brook, fits them carefully into his sling, hurls them again and again into the clump of clustered bushes, slaying an imaginary enemy; he creeps silently upon a sleeping foe; the sheep pasture is a battlefield. Yonder out of the wood comes a lion; with swift pace he seeks the flock, tears one from his fellows; aflame with the war spirit the lad bounds after him, grapples with a national enemy, measures strength with a mighty foe, conquers, and fills the air with shouts of victory. A mountain bear sought the flock one day, seized a sheep, bore the prey to his lair; hardly has he won his victory when David organizes an attack, rallies all his forces, conquers the enemy, saves the spoil, and again the woods ring with chants of praise, rude draughts of psalms that shall later stir a nation and voice the passion of the centuries. A chapter from Jacob's life shows us that the shepherd's life was hard and dangerous. When Jacob faced Laban and in a sentence told the history of twenty years, he gave a vivid picture of an eastern shepherd's life. "This twenty years have I been with thee; thy ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flocks have I not eaten. That which was torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. Thus I was, in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from mine eyes. Thus have I been twenty years in thy house" (Gen. 31). The Great Shepherd pictures a shepherd's life in a parable and states it in a sentence, "The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep." The boy of Bethlehem was a shepherd, alert, active, courageous, quick of eye, lithe of limb, strong in struggle, trained in the use of the sling.

When the ambition of his life was gratified, and his father sent him into camp with food for his brothers, he was thoroughly equipped for service; the dream of youth had come real; for sheep he saw men, for lions and bears a giant; he had never feared a foe; it was too late to learn; the victory over the

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Philistine was the natural fruit of cultivated powers ripening in the sunshine of opportunity.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. When the sheep were safe he was wont to lie on his back studying the great pastures above with their white-fleeced flocks led by the Shepherd of Israel; night after night he studied their silent journeys following an unseen leader. He considered God's heavens, only to realize that their Maker was man's companion, mindful of him, visiting him. He, too, was one of God's flock, led into green pastures and beside still waters, guided in right paths for the sake of God's name; as he in turn led his flock for his own name's sake. His honor was at stake in caring for his flock, God's honor was at stake in caring for him. David would lose more than the sheep could, if through carelessness the lion triumphed; God would lose more than David could, if at the last the great enemy should get him from God's flock. "His name's sake" was God's reason for faithfulness. Yea, even in the valley of the shadow of death there is nothing to fear. So the lad's thoughts ran from earth to heaven, as of old angels ascended and descended on ladder of light when Jacob dreamed.

The raw material for the Psalms was gathered in youth by the shepherd lad. In the stillness of the summer night, watching by the sleeping sheep, watching the sleepless stars, sheep of heaven, his soul opened to God, as the flowers opened to the sun, or the rivers to the inflowing tides of the sea, till he shared the color of God's life and surrendered to the mighty tides of the divine love.

David did not travel widely; his world was narrow, as we know the world, but it was high; no earth-born cloud arose to hide God from his servant's eyes. As a boy he may not have been much with men, but he was much with God; in later years, when he fell, caught by the swift current of human passion, the hand he had learned to love as a lad, caught and lifted him. From the well of memory, by the gate of youth, came the clear waters that quenched the thirst, quickened by the fever of sin. The parable of Nathan, the one ewe lamb, turned the soul of the king to God; in the light of the simple story he saw again the

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fields of Bethlehem, struggled again for the lamb, the experience of youth compelled the repentance of manhood. Communion with God as the Great Shepherd taught him the sacredness of property rights in human life, when the claim was phrased in shepherd's terms.

David was a musician, the minstrelsy of manhood was perfected in youth. His one musical instrument was the *kinnôr*, a small harp, shaped like the Greek delta, having eight or ten strings. A simple instrument, but quite sufficient for him who has music in his soul.

David could say with Abt Vogler:

> "God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear;
> The rest may reason and welcome; 'tis we musicians know."
> "But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
> Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are:
> And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man.
> All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
> Not its semblance but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
> Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
> When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.
> The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
> The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
> Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
> Enough that we heard it once, we shall hear it by and by."

David's soul lay open to God as the Atlantic seacoast lies open to the mighty deep, the waves of harmony voiced themselves on the white sand of a surrendered life. Music is the highest, fullest form of expression known; we translate thought from one language to another, but music is a universal language. A single tune stands with America in one hand and Great Britain in the other. "My Country, 'tis of Thee," and "God Save the Queen," are both at home in the same tune.

Some of the words of David's psalms are preserved, the music has perished. One never reads the marvelous story of the young musician's victory over Saul's madness without wishing for the harp and music that wrought the spell. The power to do came by doing; genius, like fire, must be fed and fanned ere it comes to be a flame that defies control. The power that

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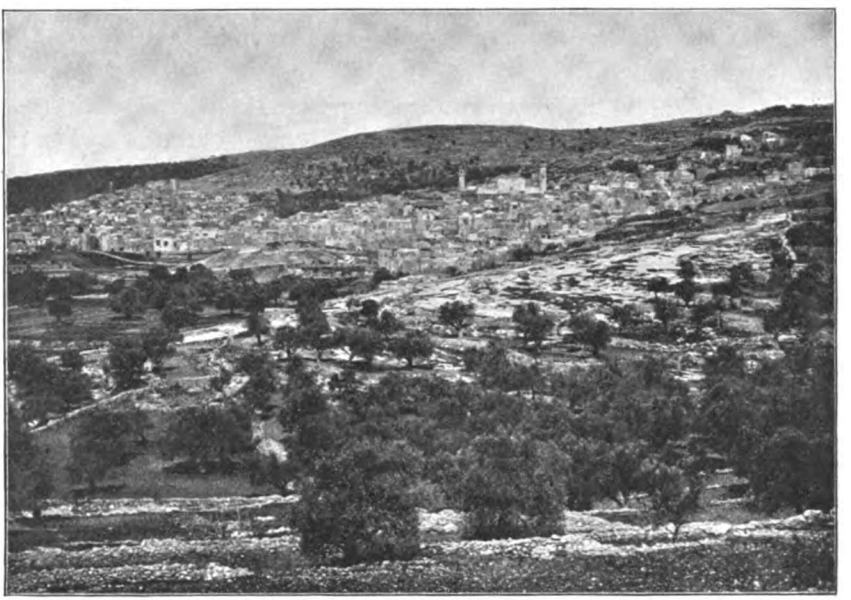
freed Saul was cultivated through months of patient practice. While the sheep fed in silence about him, and the white clouds drifted from hilltop to hilltop above him, while the eagle floated between him and the clouds, he lay in a hollow and



HEBRON

poured out his soul through the harp, as the mountain spring sings out its life toward a wider, deeper channel between lips of stone.

Seeing him thus pouring out his life in song, one can think of God bending over the surrendered soul and touching its chords to expression of divine harmonies. If he could under inspiration voice the thoughts of God in words, he might also, moved by the spirit, utter God's harmony in music. With gift of double utterance he spends the days and nights of boyhood keenly alive to the presence of God in hill and vale, in brook and star, in earth and bending sky; far from the vice of camp and stain of city, he unfolded naturally the great gifts of God in his soul.

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The turning point of his life came when he was about fifteen years of age. Samuel, the prophet-statesman, saw that Saul, the king, lacked moral fiber; the intellect would soon follow the moral nature in its degradation, a successor must be chosen. The ritual expression of religion was suspended. Shiloh was without a sanctuary; the ark rested in one spot, the tabernacle in another, the priest was resting, the prophet traveled from point to point holding court, punishing criminals, and performing priestly functions. Samuel was the state in the highest meaning of that word. Saul wielded the sword, but Samuel controlled the conscience of Israel. On his journey Samuel came to Bethlehem, made his sacrifice on the altar, and called for the sons of Jesse. The older boys were ranged in line, but the soul of Samuel did not find the object of his search. One by one the seven sons, stalwart boys, passed before the seer, but his want was unmet. David is summoned from the sheep, instantly the prophet's heart goes out to the fair-faced, ruddy-haired stripling; he pours the anointing oil on the bowed head and departs; but David can never be the same again. The soul of Joseph the dreamer matured in the light of his visions. The Master's life unfolded rapidly after the visit to the temple in Jerusalem; David had been touched by the finger of the future, beckoned by the hand of duty to a larger life. He might go back to his sheep, might tune his harp, might struggle with the beasts of the forest, might watch the drifting clouds and the still stars, but life could never be the same to him again. As the white clouds in the west are piled into temples and palaces by invisible hands, suffused with golden light by the setting sun, so the commonest things of life would take shape under the forming fingers of that one act, the anointing mortgaged David to a great career, and every thought and deed must help to pay the interest on the mortgage. Victoria, of England, was never the same after she had learned her destiny; a dignity of bearing, a sense of responsibility marked all the years of her youth after she had tasted the fruit of the knowledge of good. The Maid of Orleans was never the same after the visions and voices of Domremy. The knowledge of future greatness ripens great souls.

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He was put to school at Ramah, where, among the young prophets, under the personal care of Samuel, he was taught the lessons that fit for kingly office and service. One king had been called from herding asses and crowned without training. Samuel had learned wisdom from bitter experience, the school must come between the flock and the throne. Samuel was a sunglass focusing the national law, traditions, hopes on the soul of the shepherd lad; from school to field he passed, spending his vacations in helpful service, his terms in careful study, developing a sound mind in a sound body, and a quick conscience with a warm heart. The anointing was doubtless a family secret; his life would be of little worth if his hopes were known, but his hopes shaped his life.

When about twenty years of age David stepped from the field of peace to the field of strife. The Philistines invaded the territory of Judah and challenged the Hebrews to combat, camp was pitched near Shochoh (Shuweikeh) on the west side of the valley, Saul encamped on the east side. Day after day a Philistine giant came to the edge of the ravine and challenged the Jews to single combat; no one dare accept the challenge; during this time David is sent down to camp with food for his brothers; he hears the taunt of the heathen, is stirred to accept the challenge, descends to the bottom of the ravine, climbs the opposite side, and stands before the champion of heathenism armed only with a sling and stones, but energized by faith in the God of Israel; a swift prayer to Jehovah, a full surrender to Jehovah, and the stone of the shepherd lad silences the boast of godless brute force. The beginning of public life is the end of private peace; the boyhood of David ended with the life of the giant; the manhood of David was but the ripe fruitage of his boyhood. The pastures are the background of the Psalms, the disciplined purity of boyhood works out in the victories of manhood.

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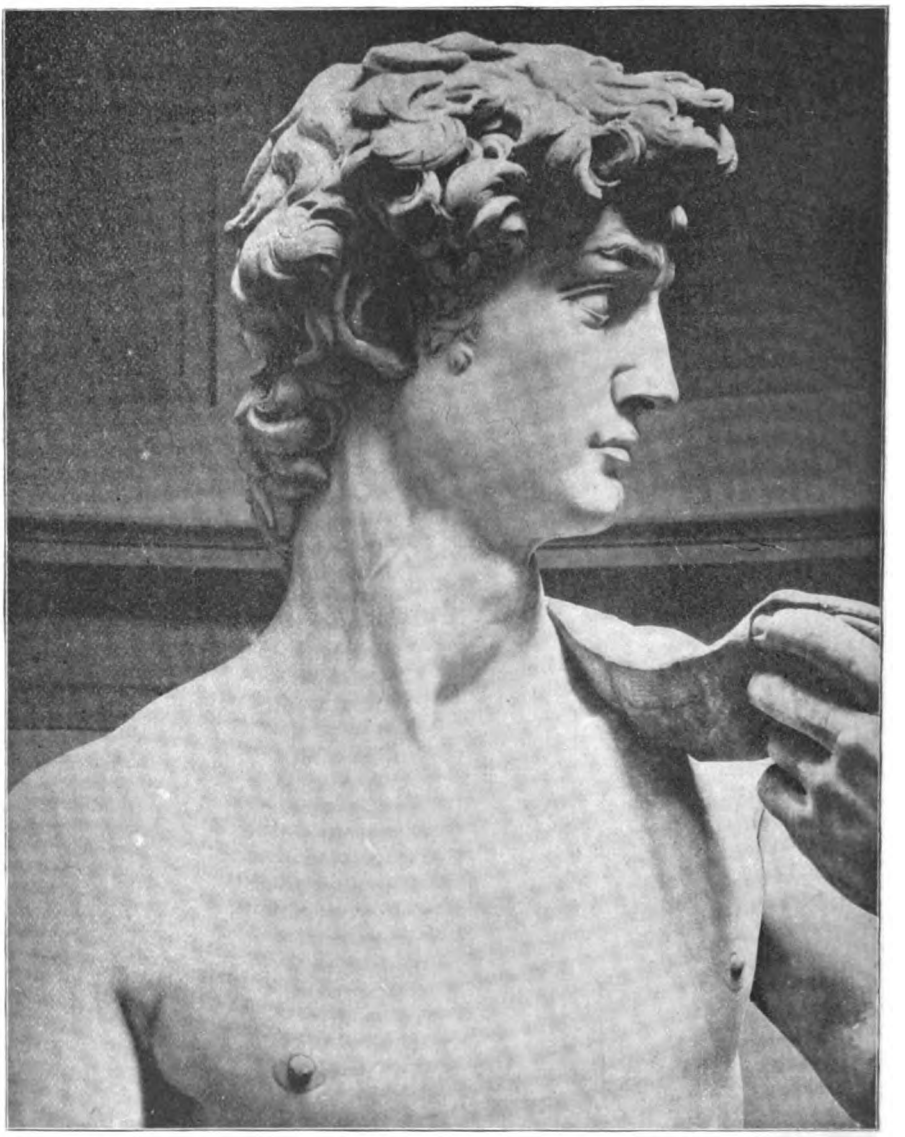

HEAD OF DAVID BY MICHAEL ANGELO, IN THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS AT FLORENCE

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THE SONG OF THE BOY DAVID.[1]

I was small among my brethren, and youngest in my father's house. I tended my father's sheep.

My hands formed a musical instrument, and my fingers tuned a psaltry.

And who shall tell my Lord? The Lord himself, he himself hears.

He sent forth his angel and took me from my father's sheep, and he anointed me with the oil of his anointing.

My brothers were handsome and tall; but the Lord did not take pleasure in them.

I went forth to meet the Philistine; and he cursed me by his idols,

But I drew his own sword and beheaded him, and removed reproach from the children of Israel.

[1] This Psalm is contained in a Coptic psalter of the sixth or seventh century, found in a grave in Egypt, and now being edited by Dr. Budge, of the British Museum. It is by no means unknown, since it appears in the Septuagint, but it has hitherto been regarded as apocryphal. It will be interesting to see what effect this discovery will have upon this opinion.

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THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG PROPHET DANIEL.

By HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH,
Boston, Mass.

IN HUMAN history there are no temperance stories that can exceed the thirty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah, and the illustration of the same principle in the first chapter of Daniel. As a temperance illustration the education of the young prophet Daniel is full of significance at the present day.

The early life of a prophet is a most interesting study, for as a rule we find in this period of seership the first inspiring visions. As, to the young shepherd on Mt. Latmos, we hear a voice saying:

"Endymion, one day shalt thou be blest,"

so the early vision, as in the Greek classic story, becomes a face in the fountain, and when at last the divinities in their high abodes exclaim, "Why came this mortal here?" we expect the answer, "Because he set his heart upon the immortals." Keats in his *Endymion* but sang the universal experience of mankind.

Jacob beheld his life's vision at Luz, and his experience was but a fulfilment of the divine dream which he recounted as the decisive event of his life when old and leaning on his staff. So Moses beheld the bush that burned and was not consumed. So David sung of his shepherd days, and Isaiah beheld the glory of God amid the emblematic splendors of the temple. With the later prophets of the church, if prophets such may be called, it was the early light that led to the transcendent life. Martin Luther sung God amid the snow in the streets in his student days; Zinzendorf, when a boy, established the order of the "Grain of Mustard Seed," and Edwards drew around him a little congregation of children under the singing bough of the woods Youth is the time of vision.

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The prophet Daniel was the poet of two splendid eras of the world's history; of the revival of faith under Josiah, and of the rise and fall of the Babylonian empire. The year 623 B. C. was the probable date of his birth, in the reign of Josiah, the last of the righteous kings of Judah. According to the received accounts he was about seventeen years of age, possibly younger, at the time of the captivity.

He was a youth of royal blood, and it is probable that he and the other so-called "Hebrew children," who went into the shadowed magnificence of Babylon in her last days, were under the immediate instruction of the court.

They had seen an act of sublime loyalty to God in their king, and this object-lesson must have made a deep and imperative impression on their young minds. Josiah cast down from the Mount of Olives the temple which Solomon had erected to Chemosh, the Moabite goddess, and removed all other places of idolatry from the kingdom of Judah. This great event was the spiritual "no" of Josiah's reign: the "no" of the heart.

He was educated in the principles of the Pentateuch roll, or the Bible. The instructions of Jeremiah may have been known to him in his boyhood, as he turned to them for comfort in his riper years.

That the schools of the prophets and the school of Hezekiah were revived and continued in the good reign of Josiah is probable, for the education of young men of high promise had become one of the principles of Hebrew life. Jeremiah may have been a teacher of Daniel.

Of the methods of the education of Daniel in the court of Josiah we cannot be certain. But the thirty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah—a chapter that stands out as a most sublime illustration of the power of moral education—gives us a view of the probable influences of the teachers of the time upon his young character.

In the purified court, under the direction of Jeremiah, the Rechabite teachers must have revived their ancient instructions.

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Who was Rechab? We cannot say. Who were the Rechabites? They were probably proselytes, men like Melchizedek and possibly Caleb, who won their place of influence among the Israelitish tribes by their superior character.

They lived in tents, they sowed no seed, they ate no flesh, and drank no wine. They said "no" in their hearts to whatever tended to weaken their spiritual power.

They were summoned into the temple, and their faith was put to the test. They were offered wine, and refused the cup. In the wonderful thirty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah that prophet condemned the disobedience of the Jews by the story of the obedience of the Rechabites, and utters these sublime words, which stand for the continuity of righteousness for all time:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall never want a man to stand before me forever."

Was this promise visibly fulfilled? The Rechabites were adopted by the Levites and were taken into the temple service. In a historical account of the martyrdom of St. James a Rechabite is represented as crying out against the accusers. It has been claimed that the recent reformation among a certain people of Islam was an attempt to restore the principles of the Rechabites. There are picturesque histories of the line of Rechab which are such as fancy loves to picture, but that we cannot altogether trust.

In the notable periods of Jewish history these dwellers in tents were the teachers of righteousness, and certain it is that the young prophet was taught not to eat unclean meats nor to drink wine, and that it was the teaching of Jeremiah that such temperance should bless posterity. Daniel consecrated himself in youth to the Rechabite principles.

Would the young prophet who was taught not to eat unclean meat, nor to drink wine in the court of Josiah, have the strength of purpose to refuse unclean meats and wine in the splendid courts of the dominant nations? Would he be able to carry his principles of self-restraint and temperance, the moral and spiritual "no," into all life?

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The young man who learns to govern himself under all conditions and circumstances has the gravitation to govern others, and only such has the moral right to rule. Only that which is true ought to be or will be, as San Martin, the Creole conqueror, and the liberator of Argentina, Chili, and Peru, said: "Thou must be that which thou oughtest to be, or else thou shalt be nothing." It is he who puts the moral "no" of his heart into the early deeds of life that faces a crown.

In the court of Josiah Daniel had learned that character was power—how would he face his first temptation? Should he be made a cup bearer to an oriental monarch, would he himself follow the example of the sons of Rechab, commended by Jeremiah, and refuse the cup?

If so, he may become a prince of Babylonia; he may stand next to Darius, the Persian conqueror; he may be cast into a den of lions and make the wild beasts lie down like lambs. He may speak words that will live forever.

The period of Daniel's youth was one of great events. The powerful nations of the world then were Egypt and Assyria. The Israelitish kingdom had disappeared except Judah and Benjamin, and these latter descendants of the children of promise occupied a small territory on the highway between the nations who were filling the world with wonder.

The Assyrian power bore sway over Judah. To Assyria Josiah paid tribute.

Josiah had made an oath to be true in war to the cause of Assyria. Egypt rose over Assyria, and Josiah was true to his covenant, and went forth with the Assyrian armies.

One day, when Daniel was yet a lad, there arose a great wailing in the streets of Jerusalem. The news had been brought that Josiah had fallen by the Egyptian arrows. The pillar of faith had gone down.

Babylon arose against Assyria and determined to conquer her maritime provinces, and marched against Syria which the Egyptians claimed. The story of the invasion is told in the book of Daniel and in Jeremiah. Egypt was driven back and received a mortal wound.

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"Go up into Gilead and take balm,
O virgin, the daughter of Egypt,
In vain shalt thou use many medicines,
For thou shalt not be cured!"

"The king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt."

Jerusalem was now besieged by the victorious Babylonian army. Her king, Jehoiakim, was put into fetters, and became tributary to Babylon. Many of his people were carried away to the triumphant city of the sands.

In the long caravan of captives that were swept away from the Mediterranean to the city of desert domes and hanging gardens, was the lad Daniel, with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and others "of the king's seed and of the princes." These royal children had been schooled in the strong faith of Josiah. They had seen the idol temple of King Solomon hurled down. They must have known even then the teachings of Jeremiah.

By the probable way of Palmyra, or Tadmor, the caravan reached the Euphrates valley, and the captives saw the golden domes of Babylon rising over the seas of white sands. The latter passed under the gates, and the young prophet prince found himself in the city that had come to occupy the throne of the world.

All around him was a scene of oriental beauty. Above the walls rose the ruins of Babel. The city was one of the oldest in the world. Through it flowed the Euphrates, "the life of the world." The streets gleamed with temples with roofs of cedar and altars of gold, guarded by bulls of bronze. The temple of Bel the Dragon flowed with wine, and was enriched by the tithes of nations.

The gates were records of mighty deeds. The walls were of stupendous power. Over all rose the hanging gardens, where smiled in the desert sun the forests and flowers of the Median mountains.

Herodotus says the city stood on both sides of the river Euphrates in the form of a square and had a circumference of

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sixty miles. It was surrounded by a wall fifty cubits thick and two hundred cubits high, having one hundred brazen gates—according to Diodorus, two hundred and fifty gates. The two parts of the city had straight streets, crossing each other at right angles, and connected by a roofed bridge. It is said that Semiramis employed at one time 2,000,000 men in the adornment of the city, and the hanging gardens of Semiramis were numbered as one of the seven wonders of the world.

Into this city of overawing splendor and power the caravan with Daniel came, and here he would soon be called upon to face those luxuries which his education had condemned, and to utter to his detriment the spiritual "no" of the Rechabites.

The young captive prince was brought into the palace. His appearance and his mode of life as he entered this golden domain are pictured in a single passage of the Scriptures. Ashpenaz, a courtier, we are told, was ordered to bring "certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes, children in whom was no blemish, but well favored and skillful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge and understanding science, and such as had ability in them, to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and tongues of the Chaldeans" (Dan. 1:3, 4).

Against the teaching of Jeremiah, Jehoiakim, king of Judah, persisted in evil courses, and himself was led away to Babylon as a captive. The Jewish colony in Babylon became large by such deportations, which must have reached to more than ten thousand families.

Daniel was placed in the court school of Babylon that he might be taught the "learning of the Chaldeans."

What a seminary this must have been! What lost histories, lost arts, lost secrets of the spiritual and material world this learning must have comprehended! Astronomy, astrology, divination, and the revelations of the instincts of the animal world, were among these branches of erudition. It turned for wisdom to the sun and moon, and the processions of the stars. For one God, there were a hundred, or a thousand. The idolatries and the idolatrous sins denounced by the prophets all

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were here. It was a land of graven images. Gods were made for sale; there were factories of them. The idol flames burned under roofs of the vast temple of cedar and gold continually.

Jeremiah commanded, "Learn not the ways of the heathen." This command, however, did not forbid one to learn any true knowledge that the heathen might possess. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, but he was schooled "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

The test of Daniel's character was now to come to him in his youth, which was to bear a grand witness to his decisive education in the court of Josiah. In it was clearly revealed to him his gift of wisdom and of the open vision to the secrets of historic events. When a person has known the truth, he may, as a rule, safely study false systems, for he will return with a stronger light to the truth again. It is those unschooled in the spiritual Bible that are in danger of being allured by the lights of any pagan system.

The young man who has said "no" to the world once has usually made his negation to evil for all time. This is especially true of those whose conscience is called to meet a luxurious city.

The decisive event in Daniel's life, out of which his prophetic power grew, and without which his seership would seem to have been impossible, is thus simply recorded: "But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine that he drank."

"He would not defile himself." This resolution was that of the Rechabites, so far as the abstinence of wine is concerned. It was the teaching of his boyhood. It bore witness to his youthful consecration.

The resolution brought to him a sense of the favor of God, which ended in miracles so dramatic as to have held the wonder of all time. At the beginning of life he had uttered the moral "no" of Josiah, Jeremiah, and the Rechabite teachers. His prophetic visions now began. He prophesied the fall of Babylon; of the Median empire; the rise of Greece and Rome, and the kingdom of heaven, compared to a stone "cut out of the mountains without hands," that should break into pieces all the

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other kingdoms of the world." He was a prophet of the resurrection of the dead, and of the death of the Messiah. He arose to eminence among the rulers of Babylonia and held only a second rank to Darius in the Persian ascendency. His supposed tomb is still shown at Susa. His example stands for young men of all times. His "no" to whatever tends to weaken the highest powers of life is a light that will never fail.

What lessons are suggested by this story!

Moral education stands first in life; the education of the memory is mere instruction. "Life," says Pestalozzi, "must be taught from life, and the individuality of the pupil is sacred to the teacher"—each child must be developed after his own gift—he must be taught to say "no" to himself for the welfare of others, and this duty must become to him a joy.

Sarmiento, the president of Argentina, the friend of Horace Mann, Charles Sumner, and Elizabeth Peabody, once said: "The glory of the United States is her public-school system," and "the primary school is the foundation of national character."

We wish that the last motto could find a place in the church and schoolroom. "The end of education is character," and no education of courts or kings can, as a rule, uproot the principles of justice and divine faith that are early planted in the soul.

Froebel might have found an illustration for his immortal *Education of Man* in the early education of Daniel. The school of teachers like Josiah and Jeremiah will, as a rule, forever fortify the soul for adherence to truth as the supreme intent and glory of life. The sublimities of the twelfth chapter of Daniel have a lesson for the teachers who begin the new age with the system of education that seeks first the training of the moral life and spiritual powers. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God," read Froebel, when a child. The word "first' haunted him, and he said in maturer years, "I will found a system of education on that principle." This he aspired to do. His vision of education was right. He builded men.

There is a deeper lesson in the example of Daniel than that which pertains to the mere maintenance of national or personal honor. It has this significance: "Never do that which tends to

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lessen spiritual power." "He that is spiritual," says the apostle, "judgeth all things, and no man judgeth him." There is a deeper duty in life than that which merely outwardly keeps the prescribed commandments. We have never seen this duty more clearly stated than in the advice given by Susannah Wesley to John Wesley, while the latter was at college. "Would you judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of pleasure," she said, "take this rule:

> 'Whatever weakens your reason,
> Impairs the tenderness of your conscience,
> Obscures your sense of God,
> Takes off the relish for spiritual things;
> Whatever increases the authority
> Of your body over your mind —
> That thing is *sin* to you,
> However innocent it may be in itself.'

"The Guises compel me," said the king to Palissy. "Then you are no longer king," answered the potter.

The teacher, the student, the sociologist may well study in connection with the thirty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah the first chapter of Daniel, and so "dig out the old wells" of early wisdom. For a lesson on "no lesson" Sunday or on Temperance Sunday no theme could be more fruitful in suggestion. The story is especially significant in showing how the character of a true statesman and leader of the people is developed; is an illustration needed in educational methods, and as an example in the moral reforms and spiritual needs of our times. It is the spiritual "no" in the first test of life that young people need to be taught to make, whenever and wherever they may be.

To the young man who leaves a Christian home to meet the destructive social tendencies of a large city the scriptural picture of the resolution of Daniel is full of significance. "Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself," is a monumental text. A great city makes or destroys a young man, and, as a rule, it is the young man's first attitude towards city life that is destiny. How does he spend his first Sabbath? To whom does he look for his first companions? When one lands in a new city alone, what does he first seek?

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His spiritual "no" may close forever the door of darkness to him. Temptations pass by a man of fixed purpose. One step is all the way. The biography of failure is, "I got started wrong."

"The color of our whole lives," said Cowper, "is that which we make it in the first five years in which we are our own masters." He who purposes in his heart not to defile himself may reasonably expect deliverance from the lion's den. A man's success in life will be in exact measure to his moral power and character in everything. It is the moral "no" of the heart purpose put into the first acts of life that opens the gates to the destiny where influence becomes immortal.

JESUS, JOHN, AND TWO ANGELS—RUBENS

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THE BOYHOOD OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

By Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D.
Springfield, Mass.

Concerning the childhood and youth of the great forerunner of Jesus there is an almost entire dearth of information. Of the four gospels the one by Luke alone gives any notice of the Baptist's life previous to the beginning of his public ministry, which apparently took place but a short time before the baptism of Jesus. He must have been then a man of at least thirty or thirty-one years of age. The other gospels begin their account of John abruptly with the words: "In those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea" (Matt. 3:1); "Even as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face . . . . John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached" (Mark. 1:2, 4); "There came a man, sent from God, whose name was John" (John 1:6). The Acts of the Apostles contain only the slightest reference to John, and then simply to his public ministry; while the epistles do not mention him. The Christian apocryphal writings also are almost entirely void of any reference to John's early life; the one noteworthy exception being the protevangelium of James, which contains a single incident connected with the massacre of the innocents.

The absence from all the New Testament writings, save the third gospel, of any allusion to the remarkable circumstances of John's birth raises some interesting questions. These questions increase in interest when we make a comparative study of Luke's account of John's nativity and his account, also in many particulars unique, of the nativity of Jesus. They cannot be discussed here, but it may be worth while to present the salient features of each in parallel, at least those features which are analogous.

The conception of John was preannounced by the angel

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Gabriel to Zacharias; the conception of Jesus was preannounced by the same angel to Mary.

In both cases the name of the child was designated by the angel, and both names are peculiarly significant.

John was born of priestly descent; Jesus was born of royal descent.

John was born of a woman who was "well stricken in years," and therefore beyond the period of child-bearing; Jesus was born of a virgin.

THE VISITATION—GHIRLANDAJO

Before the birth of either child the two mothers met and Mary gave utterance to a *Magnificat* of exalted eloquence; at the circumcision and naming of John, Zacharias gave utterance to a *Benedictus* scarcely less noble in thought and expression than the *Magnificat*. Both of these are in the language and spirit of the loftiest Old Testament scripture. Comparing these two, Dr. Plummer[1] says: "As the *Magnificat* is modeled on the Psalms, so the *Benedictus* is modeled on the prophecies, and it has been called 'the last prophecy of the Old Dispensation and the first of the New.' And while the tone of the *Magnificat* is regal, that of the *Benedictus* is sacerdotal. The one is as appropriate to the daughter of David as the other to the son of Aaron."

Is it significant that the reappearance of Hebrew prophecy, after a silence of centuries, occurs in the priestly line?

[1] In the *International Critical Commentary* on Luke, *in loc.*

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John was born in the year 6 B. C.[1] His father, Zacharias, was a rustic priest who belonged to the restored course of Abijah, the original course not having returned from the exile. His name, like so many Hebrew proper names, has a religious significance; Zacharias means "remembered by Jahveh." John's mother was Elisabeth, or Elisheba, which means "God of my oath," a daughter of a priest. Both parents are spoken of as "righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless." Their home is believed by some writers to have been in a town about four miles north of Hebron, called Juttah, which has been identified by Dr. Robinson with the modern Yutta. Concerning this, however, there is great uncertainty. Luke's expression is simply "into a city of Judah." This *may* mean Hebron, though this is not altogether likely, since, had Luke known the name of the town, most probably he would have given it. Something may be said for the suggestion that Judah in the text is a modification of Juttah. Jewish tradition, however, is in favor of identifying the "city of Judah" with Hebron. On behalf of Juttah it may be urged that it is one of the mountain towns which are mentioned in Joshua 15:55, and allotted to the children of Aaron in Joshua 21:16; though it does not appear in the list given in 1 Chronicles, 6:57–59.

The story in the protevangelium of James would seem to indicate that the home of John's parents was not far from Bethlehem.

Zacharias and Elisabeth were old and childless. The supreme blessing of the domestic life had been denied them. It is fair to infer, from the single expressive notice of their character given by Luke, that they bad borne their trial with patient resignation.

Sometime in the early autumn of 6 B. C., perhaps in the month of October, while Zacharias was in Jerusalem discharging his priestly office at the temple, the lot fell to him to offer incense before the Lord in connection with the daily sacrifice. This function was considered a very great honor, and no priest might

[1] This is the date agreed upon by most modern scholars.

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have it twice. Since the number of priests was large, many of them never enjoyed the honor. The offering of incense took place in the morning and in the evening of each day. Whether Zacharias officiated at the morning or evening service Luke does not say; probably it was at the early worship; but, while he was discharging his holy function, the angel Gabriel appeared to him and, after quieting the startled priest's fears, announced to him that his aged wife should bear a son, who should be named John ("grace" or "favor," the full name Johanan meaning "Jahveh is gracious"). Concerning this child the angel said that his birth should be an occasion of rejoicing both to his father and to many others; that he should be "great in the sight of the Lord;" that he should be a Nazarite, abstaining from wine and strong drink; that he should be filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb; that he should turn many Israelites unto God; and that he should go before God "in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just: to make ready for the Lord a prepared people."

THE BOY JOHN—MURILLO

Zacharias, doubting, as innocently he might, asked of the angel a sign, and in answer was immediately stricken with loss of speech.

In due time the promise of the angel approached fulfilment,

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and Elisabeth received a visit from her kinswoman from Galilee, Mary, the wife of Joseph. At this meeting the unborn prophet gave a mute sign which Elisabeth devoutly interpreted as a recognition of his unborn Lord. To her words Mary responded with the *Magnificat.*

The birth of Elisabeth's child, a few months later, was the occasion of much rejoicing and congratulation among the kindred and neighbors of the humble priestly family, and when the day of his circumcision — his christening, as we should call it — came, they assembled to witness the ceremony and to share in its accompanying festivity. At this time the child was named. Naturally the relatives of the family proposed to name him Zacharias, after his father; but, to their surprise, the mother demurred, saying that he should be called John. Appeal was made to the father, singularly enough, by signs, since apparently he was only dumb, and not also deaf. He, calling for a tablet, wrote: "His name is John." Before the act of circumcision was performed a benediction was spoken, and the service closed with a prayer, in which the name was bestowed upon the child, in the words: "Our God, and the God of our fathers, raise up this child to his father and mother, and let his name be called in Israel John, the son of Zacharias."[1] Immediately the good priest's tongue was loosed, and be burst forth with the *Benedictus.*

The only further note of John's early life, even in Luke's gospel, is the statement: "The child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his showing unto Israel."

With this may be compared the statement which closes the account of Jesus' infancy: "The child grew, and waxed strong, becoming filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him."

The protevangelium of James[2] relates that John was among the infants whom Herod sought to slay, and that Elisabeth, hearing of it, went into the hill country and sought for concealment. Finding none she "groaned and said with a loud voice, 'Mount of God, receive a mother with her child.' And suddenly the mountain was divided and received her. And light shone

[1] See EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. I, p. 157.

[2] Chaps. 22–4.

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through to them; for the angel of the Lord was with them, preserving them."

Herod, angered by the child's escape, caused Zacharias to be killed in the temple near the altar, where, some time afterward, congealed blood was found by a priest more venturesome than the rest. When the others went in "the wainscotings of the temple shrieked out, and were cleft from top to bottom. And they found not his body, but found his blood turned to stone." The cleaving of the wainscoting recalls to our minds the rending of the veil of the temple when Jesus died. Perhaps the latter suggested this feature to the author of the story.

MARY, JESUS, AND JOHN—RAPHAEL
(*La Belle Jardinière*)

The child was thus left fatherless. Later, Elisabeth also died, and, according to another apocryphal writing,[1] at her death angels took him under their care.

From this time on there is no record, even legendary, of John's childhood and youth. We can only surmise that he grew up a recluse, nurturing within himself, in the midst of the wild scenery of the mountain wilderness west of the Dead Sea, that sternly devoted and ascetic spirit which he manifested at his appearance to herald the coming of one mightier than he "whose fan is in his hand, thoroughly to cleanse his threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire." Instinctively we recall Elijah, and

[1] FABRICIUS, *Cod. Apocryph.*, pp. 117 *sq.*

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Amos, the herdman of Tekoa; but the likeness between John and these appears only when he comes out of seclusion to fulfil his great mission of "preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins." The mysterious man issuing from the mountains, clad in a coarse garment of camel's hair, girt about the loins with a leathern girdle, and satisfying the demands of nature with the wild product of the rocks and the forest, gives us little suggestion of the child born in a priest's house and loved as an only son given to bless and brighten aged parents.

Any attempt to describe the boyhood of the Baptist would, therefore, be purely a work of the imagination. If his parents, contrary to the legend of the protevangelium, long survived his birth, he doubtless grew up in the humble priest's home, and was faithfully schooled in the great history and sublime hopes of his people, and in the simple piety of the devout Hebrews. If he was early left an orphan, he probably was cared for by his kindred until he could care for himself. He may have had the instruction of some country rabbi as well as of his parents, but among his teachers none would be more influential than the scenes amidst which he lived — the lonely mountains, the bare and somber rocks, the sullen sea, too sluggish to ripple under the breeze or play about the base of the cliffs that walled it in, and the intense sky, with its unmitigable sunshine by day and its burning stars by night. What these taught him we may not distinctly know, but that they helped to mold his feeling, and to shape his thought of God and man, and to breed in him a spirit fitted for his unique mission in the world, we may easily believe. Was his boyhood one bereft of companions and play and eager childish industry? It is difficult to think of him as like other children, even as like Jesus, whose boyhood in busy Galilee must have been more varied in its experiences, more social and more humane than his. Did the two boys, whose mothers claimed kinship, ever meet? There is nothing in the record to forbid the supposition; nor is there anything to confirm it. After all our reflection on it, John's life seems most fitly expressed in his own words: "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Thus he dispersonalized himself. In the som-

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berness and solemnity of the wilderness all the petty egotisms of the individual man vanished, and he became but the voice of divine prophecy announcing to men a new crisis of revelation. Behind his self-effacing announcement, however far back in his past I may look and listen, I find it hard to fancy the sunny, unconscious face and the glad or careless cry of a child.

Art has found in John the Baptist a favorite subject. As a child he appears in many pictures of the Mother and Child. The pictures of his infancy show a serious, wistful face; those of his manhood usually represent him as a lean and cadaverous ascetic, though there are several striking exceptions, notably one by Titian, and a more youthful one by, I think, Andrea del Sarto. Among the pictures of the child John several of the most beautiful are by Murillo.

JOHN THE BAPTIST—TITIAN

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THE VISION OF ST. ELIZABETH.

By ALICE SAWTELLE RANDALL, PH.D.,
New Haven, Conn.

Have you read of that beautiful legend —
That legend from ages now old —
Of Elizabeth, royal, yet saintly,
Who prized above purple and gold

The meek raiment that charity weareth,
The halo whose radiance sheds
Benediction where poverty hungers
Or tosses on feverish beds ?

When the lights in the castle were blazing,
And courtiers her beauty would sing,
She thought, not of them, but the outcast,
And, hast'ning on sympathy's wing,

Her abundance she shared with the needy,
And with it a blessing let fall :
Is it wonder they clung to her garments,
And saint she became to them all ?

The fair angels, 'twas said, were her playmates
As childhood tripped down its fleet morn;
And the charm of her womanhood's beauty
Was the charm that of heaven is born.

And — blessing all blessings surpassing ! —
That vision all sacrifice worth —

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Yea, that vision the martyrs have died for —
Was her's while she dwelt upon earth.

'Twas the gift — not of angel — but leper,
Who lay, a poor boy, at her gate.
The proud castle may frown in aloofness;
She hastens his woe to abate.

With what tenderness, bending above him,
She lifts him against her own breast!
With what gentleness carries him, fainting,
And lays him — this princess thrice-blessed —

Not out on the straw with the swineherd,
But verily in her own bed!
And the oil of a heartfelt compassion
She pours on his buffeted head.

When lo! (is she waking or dreaming?)
That vision ineffable came
To envelop all duty with beauty
And make them forever the same;

For the death-smitten face of the leper
Looked up to her own and smiled,
And that face, which reflected all heaven,
Was the face of the world's *Christ-child.*

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CHRISTMAS IN HEATHEN LANDS.

By LUCY W. WATERBURY,
Boston, Mass.

IT IS supposed that many of our beautiful Christmas customs have come down to us from our heathen ancestors. We know that the Yule log was burned in honor of the god Thor, at the feast of the winter solstice, and while some would trace the decoration of our churches to the passage in Isaiah: "The glory of Lebanon shall come into thee; the fir tree and the pine tree and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary," it is more probable, as Dean Stanley tells us, that the custom is borrowed from the heathen, who suspended green boughs and holly about their houses that the fairies and spirits of the wood might find shelter in them. Even the idea of our Christmas tree is said to be taken from the legendary "Eternal Tree," which had its roots on earth and its top in heaven.

If Christmas be no more than a time of feasting and heathen observances, it may well rank with the numerous festivals in honor of heathen gods, but while there is no doubt that in some cases it is merely this, yet we believe that to the hearts of most people in Christian lands there come with the chimes of Christmas day some faint echo of the song of the angels; some memory of the story which the Bible has told, which poets have sung, and mothers have taught. As there can be no true Christmas for us except as the spirit of the Christ is manifested, so there can be Christmas in heathen lands only where his star has risen and where he is born in the hearts of men.

"Who is Jesus and what is Christmas?" wrote a puzzled Japanese father to the teacher of a mission school. The answer to this question is reaching thousands of homes through the boys and girls in these Christian schools.

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In India Christmas is known as "*burra din*," the great day. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that English rule in India makes it a universal holiday, but the time is surely coming when Christ's rule in India will make it in reality "the great day."

The request that I write on this subject brings vividly to mind one delightful Christmas spent among the Telugus in the city of Madras.

It was in the cool season, and the graceful palms, the evergreens of the tropics, were fresh and bright after the long rains. The vivid red of hibiscus and poinsettia, with the scarlet and orange of the flowering trees, made parks and compounds gay. The scent of jasmine and orange blossoms was an agreeable change from the ordinary Indian street odors. It seemed decidedly more like Fourth of July than like our ideal Christmas, for we had not a flake of snow nor a hint of frost; no sort of conveniences for Santa Claus, as there is not a respectable chimney in Madras, not even on the Chepauk palace, and the children know nothing of stockings; not a fir tree, nor a sprig of holly gladdens the eyes; no delicious odors of mince pies and plum puddings greet us; we pass no markets with plump white turkeys, and crimson cranberries, but pick our way through filthy streets, thronged with neglected children who never dreamed of Santa Claus, never heard of Christmas, and do not know the story of the Christ child.

And yet, in this very city, there came under my window at dawn of Christmas day the sound of singing, sweet and low, a Christmas carol, composed by one of our Christian boys, a dreamy young poet, and sung by a choir of school children. They had crept up softly and surprised us. Of course we applauded, and then came a shower of gilded limes and tiny bouquets of roses, and a happy shout, "Merry Kismis." After *chota hazree* (early breakfast) we held levee on the veranda for all our Christians, who came in gorgeous attire, several mothers carrying wee babies, clad in simple coats of oil, and clutching in their brown, dimpled hands images made of pith, gay peacocks and parrots adorned with colored paper and tinsel, their presents for the missionary family. The older girls brought trays of delicious

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fruits; oranges, custard, apples, and guavas, with flowers arranged about small sticks in stiff pyramids, and sprinkled profusely with rose water. For days the Christian children had been preparing for the festival, chiefly by making dozens of small calico bags — red and purple, green and yellow. These were for the "poor children" from our heathen schools. Such a happy little company of tailors they were, sitting cross-legged on the veranda, boys and girls sewing busily, laughing, chattering, and whispering secrets, or breaking occasionally into song.

Excitement ran high over the box from America. There were such treasures as small wooden pencil cases, brass thimbles, workbags, each with a spool of cotton and a paper of needles; red and blue flannel caps for the boys, with remnants of calico for jackets for the girls; two or three scrapbooks, a pair of scissors, and a few little dolls. We could produce no sleds, nor skates, nor watches; no chests of tools, nor sets of books, nor games; nothing that would appeal to the cultivated taste of an American boy. There were no writing desks nor rings, no French dolls nor stick pins for the girls, but, notwithstanding these lacks, there was genuine Christmas cheer.

The older boys brought in the tree and set it up in the chapel, and the "committee" decorated it with paper chains and tinsel, and hung on each twig a little bag, adding oranges and ruddy pomegranates to heighten the beauty of their tree, which, I must confess, appeared to our western eyes a trifle scrubby. Still the general effect was quite Christmasy, and we were all too happy and excited to be critical.

Long before the time announced the verandas were crowded with little brown children, trembling with eagerness and torn with curiosity to see the tree. Finally the bell rang, and the line of school children marched in, the boys wearing red *panchas* and white coats, and the girls attired in new calico skirts and jackets. Their faces shone with joy, and their hair with cocoanut oil, and as they marched they sang their carols right merrily. The little heathen joined the procession, making up with extra noise what they missed in words and tune. All were seated on the floor,

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packed so closely they could hardly move. Mothers crowded the doors, and peeped in the windows with exclamations and grunts of delight.

A class of girls repeated the story, "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea." How beautiful it was in the soft, liquid Telugu of these eastern maidens, the story of the young mother and the little child receiving the first Christmas offerings of gold, frankincense, and myrrh! The boys told of shepherds in "the same country abiding in the fields, keeping watch by nights over their flocks," and the heavenly host seemed not far away as all repeated, down to the smallest heathen, "For unto *us* is born this day, in the city of David, a Savior, who is Christ the Lord."

Then the presents were distributed, the gifts from the box, and the bags filled with puppoo, a kind of parched grain, some queer oily sweetmeats, and a bit of jaggery, the black palm sugar. Eager faces manifested intense anxiety lest the supply fail, and immense relief when there proved to be enough and to spare. After games, singing, and profound salaams, the shadows of night began to fall, the school children went to their "rice," and the naked little bodies of the heathen blended with the shadows and disappeared.

In some missions they give a Sunday-school picnic, as a Christmas treat. Mrs. Ninde tells of one given in Lucknow, the "City of Roses," at the time of her visit there. Two thousand children from the Methodist Sunday schools gathered at the *Maidan*, a public park in the center of the city. There were seven great elephants adorned with crimson velvet, and gold fringe, awaiting their arrival. Mrs. Ninde and the missionaries mounted one of the large beasts, and the backs of the other six were quickly crowded with boys and girls. She inquired why there were not more elephants so that all of the children could have a ride, and was informed that only those could ride who had passed the examination. Just before Christmas all of the Sunday-school children are examined on the work of the year, and only those who can recite without mistake all of the lesson topics, golden texts, and selected verses are entitled to an elephant

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ride. Mrs. Ninde felt sure she could not do this, and with a keen sense of her own unworthiness proposed to leave her lofty position; but as she was a guest she was allowed to stay. The question naturally arises, how many elephants would be required for the ordinary American Sunday school?

In Burmah we find a polyglot celebration, English, Karen, and Burmese rejoicing together. One missionary has described her Christmas surprises. Here is the list: "First a kind of bag made of the bark of the plantain tree; in it are several little packages containing tea, sugar, cocoanut, and a handkerchief with a pretty border. These are from the old Karen preacher, who lives in the compound. Next a pretty fan and a little looking-glass from Pau Pau, my right-hand girl, folded oranges in large leaves; in this package of leaves, a bit of cake from the youngest child present; an ear of corn, a tiny bottle of candy, two sheets of paper, and two needles follow; then more handkerchiefs costing three cents each, two candles in this packet, and what have we here? Ah, it is cigars! How they laugh, for I talk so strongly against smoking, but they tell me these are for my plants, so I accept them. Though these are all such trifles, they are very precious as they come laden with the 'good will' of the Christmas season."

In Singapore there are so many nationalities that four languages are required at one celebration. There were dusky Tamils from India; daughters of wealthy Chinese merchants with hair and dresses sparkling with jewels; groups of Siamese children, and hosts of Malays. After carols in Tamil, the prayer in Chinese, and the address in Malay, the gifts were distributed. Girls of twelve or thirteen, being too old to appear in public, had little remembrances sent to them. We hope, considering their great age, that these presents were especially nice.

From the hundreds of Christian centers in China we must choose only one, the Girls' School in Pekin. "On Christmas morning the beautiful cantata, 'The Star of Bethlehem,' was exquisitely rendered by the school children. The crowning event, however, was the distribution of gifts on Sunday afternoon to the heathen children. The chapel was packed with a motley crowd

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of the great unwashed. Expectation was on tiptoe, for they had been told that, if they came regularly, they would receive on Christmas day a nice card, and when in addition each boy and girl was given a package, with the strict injunction not to open it until out of the chapel, it was pathetic to see them. The little girls with their dirty faces, partially concealed by paint, would caressingly hold their packages against their cheeks, smoothing them gently, and rock them back and forth crooning, "I believe it's a doll," but not a package was opened or peeped into until all were outside, and, as the missionary explained to them the coming of the Christ-child and the joy it had brought to the world, the gladness that shone in their faces was proof that some of this joy had come to their hearts. Two hundred and fifty children or more on that day received their first Christmas gifts, and in more than one hundred and fifty heathen homes the sweet story of the nativity was told by childish lips."

Like a picture on a dainty Japanese fan appear the tiny people in Glory Kindergarten at Kobe. "One purpose of the kindergarten has been—under the blue sky, beside the sea, in the shadow of the hills, yes, in the presence of thousands of shrines and temples of heathenism, at the time of the preparation and excitement attending the mere advent of the new year —to make a festival for the children which shall celebrate the birth of Christ, the King of the earth." After the songs had been practiced, the recitations learned, and the gifts all folded in snowy paper and tied with red and gold strings, which signify a gift, the room was decorated and the tree set up. A profusion of chrysanthemums, with bouquets of small pine trees, purple cabbages, and red berries, were very effective, and the teacher had made two flags of chrysanthemums, one the American and the other the Japanese, which were put on either side of the Christmas text. The fascinating Japanese shops furnished red, blue, silver, gilt, and green glass balls, with dozens of bright-colored candles for the tree. But all the decorations are as nothing to the gay little company of children who marched in, arrayed in "pale green silk, soft gray crêpe, gaily bedecked with flowers, fine sashes with over-sashes of rose pink, gold-embroidered collars,

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artificial flowers for the black hair, and paint and powder for the little girls' faces." Then followed the Christmas music, "Once in Royal David's City," "Heaven and Earth this Night Rejoice," "Waken, Little Children," and kindergarten songs, all sung in Japanese. After the simple Bible lesson the children played their graceful games, and enjoyed their beautiful tree, and a treat of bean paste, sugar storks, and cakes. The children, dear, quaint little figures, are extremely polite, and make low bows as they offer "ten thousand thanks" for their tiny gifts.

From the color and charm of the sunrise kingdom look into the heart of darkest Africa. In this haunt of slavery, cannibalism, fetichism, and witchcraft, is there the faintest gleam of the Star? Down the great river, through the deep forests, comes one of the very merriest accounts of a Christmas celebration. The attempt to introduce Santa Claus was not a success. He was greeted with shrieks and groans, and cries of "let me out," "it is the evil one," "it is the day of judgment." The small fry caught the infection and fled to the bedroom, while the black children crept under chairs and tables to hide themselves. Santa Claus was obliged to remove his disguise very hastily, and they were soon reassured and began to laugh and chatter and nibble their cakes and fruits. One said he thought that Elijah had returned, another that it was John the Baptist, and another that it was Satan, and all his evil deeds rose up before him. They may not need our legends of Santa Claus in Africa, but they do need the story of the Christ-child, throughout the great dark continent which nineteen centuries ago opened its gates to receive the infant Savior escaping into Egypt from the hate of the cruel king.

The true secret of a happy Christmas has come to the girls of Smyrna, and with this name comes the echo from the Revelation, "I know thy works and tribulation and poverty, but thou art rich." Rich, indeed, are these beautiful girls of the church in Smyrna today, as they decide that instead of Christmas gifts for themselves their whole effort shall go into making a blessed day for others. They repeat the words of the Lord Jesus, "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame,

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and the blind," and proceed to carry them out to the very letter. "It was a happy day in the old Konak in Manissa," writes the teacher, "when the Christmas tree was dressed. Five of our King's Daughters were delighted to carry the gifts. This picturesque old house was built by a wealthy Turk for his harem. Upstairs at each of the four corners of the great hall he built two rooms for each of his four wives, and made them to be locked and unlocked from the outside only. In one of these large apartments, now bright and cozy, the girls filled candy bags, brightened oranges, and apples with bits of gold leaf, labeled packages, and prepared candles." At last all were provided for: the dyspeptic man, the paralytic, the blind, the homeless woman, the widow with her only son, a child of seventy years, and the woman without a voice. Some planned to go the day before and clean the rooms for their poor friends, giving them a few paras for a bath. It did not need the little treat of turkey for dinner, and honey cakes for tea, to make this a memorable Christmas.

Fifty years ago Fiji was a synonym for all that is horrible and wicked. There was never a thought of peace and goodwill. What a contrast to this picture from the pen of a traveler who recently visited the islands:

"Lying at anchor, a short distance from the shore, I passed Christmas eve on deck, enjoying the perfect night of the tropics. By degrees, as the evening passed on, the sounds of life on the beach were stilled, and nothing was heard but the ceaseless rustle of the leaves of the cocoanut palms, which always hum an obligato to life in the islands. One by one the lights went out. All around lay sleeping in the rich flood of moonlight. But when the southern cross stood erect to the watchful eye, there came out sweet and clear on the heavy air of night a ringing peal of laughter, a chorus of merriment repeated time after time, until it fairly seemed that there could be nothing in life but midnight glee.

"It was the famous Fijian laughing call, which can be heard for miles, when raised by the fresh voices of women and children, and, as far as it can be heard at all, it never loses its qual-

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ity of merriment. At once the light of torches was seen beneath the trees, gathering toward the beaches, and at either side of the town. Then songs arose from each of the centers of light. On the one hand were the voices of the boys, on the other the girls were singing apart: yet not apart, for each group of singers alternated the verses of the song of praise, and the chorus was in unison across the sandy gap. The song was a hymn of Christ's nativity. The words were Christian, but the air was an old Fijian festival chorus, which has been transferred to the new Christian feast. Verse after verse was sung, and with each the parts of the choir drew nearer to each other along the beach, and at last their voices and their torches were in one, and the song rose even clearer through the gentle night, as these children sang their waits before the town.

"In the morning no man went forth to work, no woman took her nets upon the reef, for Christmas is kept like Sunday. There was a service in the church, a service of song where every voice was heard, a service of rejoicing as befits the day."

And so after centuries of gross darkness and wrong the star of Bethlehem begins again to shine in the East, and the hearts of wise men everywhere are turning toward the light which guides to the Savior of the world.

"The dark night wakes, the morning breaks,
And Christmas comes once more."

NOTE.—The periodicals of the Woman's Board of Missions, Congregational, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, and of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society have aided in furnishing material for this article.

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BETHLEHEM: THE CITY OF CHILDREN.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
The University of Chicago.

EACH town of the Bible possesses some peculiar characteristic drawn from its history. Nazareth has the memory of the Jewish lad growing up as a carpenter to become the world's Savior; Jezreel, the tragic story of the kings of Israel; Capernaum had its teacher; Shiloh, its pious boy and aged prophet; Hebron, with its sepulchers and pool, tells the story of a patriarch's burial and a king's vengeance. But Bethlehem is always the home of children. There the little son of Jesse grew up unnoticed by his elder brothers; there was born the child of Mary; and there his little fellows suffered the wrath of a jealous king. Were it not for its connection with these children, Bethlehem would hardly be remembered, for not even the sad stories in the book of Judges, or the beautiful story of Ruth, give to it any such general interest.

The modern town is beautifully situated on the sides and summit of a semicircle of hills. All about it are olive groves and vineyards, pasture lands and grain fields. It is in truth a "House of Bread"—and, indeed, of water, for, although it has but one spring, and that a poor one, the so-called Fountain of David, the aqueduct carrying water from Solomon's Pool, is tapped at the foot of the hill, and there are also reservoirs. Indeed, there is no more prosperous looking town and region in all southern Palestine. The town itself, with its eight thousand inhabitants, lies a little off the fine carriage road from Jerusalem to Hebron, and to reach it one has to drive up a rather steep and rough road running between garden walls and the ubiquitous religious buildings. As one gets into the town the road grows narrower, until at last its width would not permit two carriages' passing each other. For this reason the authorities com-

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pel all vehicles to enter the town by one street and to leave it by another. Our ignorance of this rule came near precipitating a riot, for when our driver, who in genuine oriental fashion had succeeded in entering the city by the road intended for his

BETHLEHEM FROM THE LATIN CONVENT

departure, attempted to leave by the road on which he should have entered, a crowd surrounded us, pulled the carriage back, and threatened violence when the driver tried to force his horses through them.

In some ways Bethlehem is a disappointing place to visit. Although it is almost exclusively a Christian town, its inhabitants live by the trade they carry on with visitors, and no sooner does the traveler dismount in the square before the Church of the Nativity than he is surrounded by a shouting crowd of men — there are said to be ninety different establishments manufacturing souvenirs — each endeavoring to force his victim within his little shop. Once within the shop — as one is certain to be immediately, unless he most vigorously fights for freedom — the luckless man is more liable to be robbed by extortionate

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charges than in any place in Palestine. The olive wood candlesticks and necklaces, the carved mother of pearl, the cups from the black stone of the Dead Sea — all these are forced upon one

BETHLEHEM AND THE LATIN CONVENT

at prices fully twice those for which the same articles can be purchased in Jerusalem.

Such disagreeable features, however, one must train one's self to overlook, if a journey in the Holy Land is to yield anything but disenchantment and disappointment. For, after all, such matters are but incidents. The chief object in visiting Bethlehem is not to patronize peddlers, but to see the spot, where, according to the tradition of centuries, Jesus was born.

The Church of the Nativity — or, more accurately, of St. Mary — is a noble basilica, which, as well as any of the ancient churches of Rome itself, carries one back to the early form of a great Christian church. It is evident from the few remains of pillars that at one time it possessed a great colonnaded square or *atrium* in front of its main entrance, but this has altogether

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disappeared, and the façade of the church itself shows sadly the changes which time and rebuilding have wrought. The great door has been filled up with masonry, and the entrance is by an opening so low that one must bow in order to pass through it. The reason for this singular doorway is doubtless the opportunity it offers for defense in case the church were attacked (as it often has been) by Moslems or belligerent Christians. As one again stands upright within the edifice, he finds himself in the porch, which is lower than the main building. Passing through this, one comes into the grandly simple basilica. On either side are two rows of ten columns cut from single stones, separating the nave and double aisles. The full effect of the church is, however, marred by the high wall which the Greek church has built, cutting off the transept. Yet even thus shortened, and with its old mosaics in the wall above the pillars so sadly ruined as they are, the building makes a profound impression upon the visitor. And this impression is not effaced even by the grotesque, if sacred, arrangements behind the screen. There are three churches — or parts of churches — each with its own and peculiar paraphernalia. The Greek occupies the choir and two-thirds of the transept; the Armenian, the remainder of the transept; while the Latin, St. Catharine's, though quite outside the original building, opens from it. Here in the sanctuaries of the jealous and bellicose followers of the Prince of Peace whose birthplace they guard, as in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, a Turkish soldier stands on guard to maintain order.

Directly under the transept the Chapel of the Nativity is in a subterranean room, possibly a part of a khan which had its rooms cut in the side of the hill, or, as seems more likely, a part of a catacomb like those which abound throughout the region. Three entrances lead to it or to connecting subterranean passages, one being in each of the portions of the church just mentioned. The most direct approach is by a flight of stairs leading from the south end of the Greek transept. As one goes down these stairs in the twilight one comes suddenly into a room about forty feet long, twelve wide, and ten high. It is paved,

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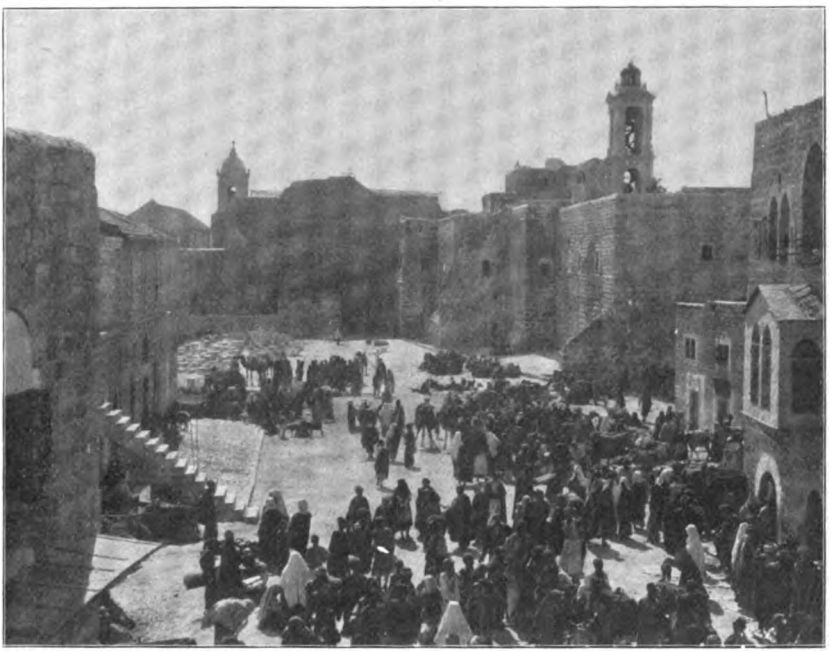
and its walls are lined with marble, and it is lighted by thirty-two lamps. At the foot of the altar at the east end of the room a silver star is set into the pavement with the inscription *Hic de*



THE MARKET PLACE IN BETHLEHEM, WITH THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY IN THE BACKGROUND

Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est. As our little party came into this place so hallowed by tradition, the most skeptical could not but be touched with the profoundest reverence. There in the dim light were a dozen nuns upon their knees, silently praying toward the sacred spot. Their earnest faces and the memory of what the spot represented gave to the superstition and rivalry of sects a pathos shared by no other of the numerous holy places in Palestine, unless it be Gethsemane.

Just out from this long room is a little chamber, three steps lower, in which is the chapel of the manger. Here tradition says Jesus was laid after his birth. The room is hung with tawdry tapestry and pictures. The niche for the "manger,"

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which itself has disappeared, like the altar of the magi opposite, resembles one of the little niches made for the reception of the body in funeral chambers, and seems to have been cut in the

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY

living rock. The front of the little opening is covered with an iron grating, behind which lies the wax doll which represents the infant Christ.

Connected with this Chapel of the Nativity by passages cut in the rock are a number of other chapels, all of which have a greater or less supply of legends. But, without excepting even the room in which Jerome is said (and with probability) to have lived, they are all inferior in interest to this spot where for fifteen hundred years at least the Christian church has believed its Master was born.

Outside the town are the traditional sites of the city and fields of the shepherds, as well as the field of Boaz, but it is, of

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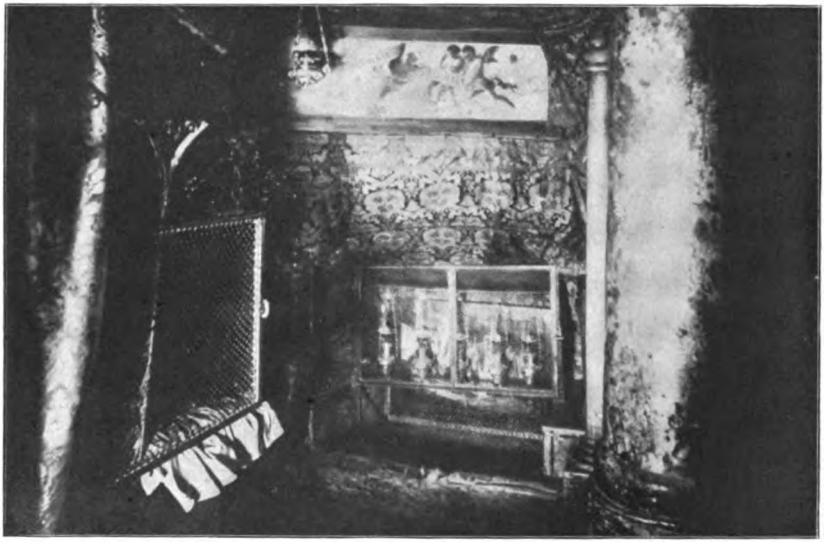
course, impossible to accept such identification as certain. But, after all, it makes little difference. For, as one drives rattling through the rough, narrow streets and by the dirty homes in which donkeys and children seem to live in peaceful communism, although one may now and then catch a glimpse of some of the beautiful women for which Bethlehem is noted, the disgust and disappointment which traditional sites and Syrian bigotry excite weaken one's sympathy in all local identification, and one falls back with increasing content upon the recollection that the folly of an ignorant Christianity and the zeal of overwise scholars can never change the land itself, and that the hills and the valleys and the sweeping landscape are the same that greeted the young mother as she came to the little town, and the same as those over which the young David looked in the days of the young Jewish state.



THE ALTAR OF THE MAGI (L) AND THE MANGER (R)

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The Council of Seventy.

Dr. John Henry Barrows, a member of the General Chamber of the Council, has completed the preparation of two works, the result of his journey through the East last year. The volumes will be published by McClurg & Co., of Chicago, and are entitled *Christianity, the World Religion* (ten lectures given in India and Japan), and *A World Pilgrimage*, the story of his trip.

Chancellor O. C. S. Wallace, of McMaster University, in addition to his special work of instruction in the English Bible in connection with his own institution, is publishing a series of thirty lessons upon the "Labors and Letters of Paul." These papers are prepared for the Baptist Young People's Union, and are published in the *Baptist Union*.

The seventh meeting of the Maine Ministers' Association was held in High Street Methodist Episcopal Church, in Auburn, November 10, 1897. The meeting consisted of two sessions, in which were discussed such questions as the "Reciprocal Rights of Church and Heretic," "What is the Simple Gospel?" Rev. H. E. Thayer gave a review of Walker's "Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England." In the evening Dr. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Springfield, Mass., delivered an address on "Personal Righteousness." The success of this association is largely due to the efforts of its president, Professor A. W. Anthony, of Cobb Divinity School, a member of the Council. Professor A. W. Anthony has also delivered a course of five lectures at Lisbon, and at West Buxton, Me., on "The Unrecorded Life of Jesus." The titles of the lectures were: "The Brothers of Jesus," "The Education of Jesus," "The Home and Early Circumstances of Jesus," "Apocryphal Lives of Jesus," and "The Development of the Messianic Consciousness."

Professor D. A. McClenahan, of the Allegheny Theological Seminary, on October 25 addressed the United Presbyterian Ministerial Association, of Pittsburg, on "Better Methods in Sabbath School Work." He took occasion to emphasize the failure of present methods

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to produce results at all commensurate with the time and effort expended. He advocated the adoption of graded lessons, some plan by which teachers might be carefully prepared for their work, a reduction in the number of classes, and separate class-rooms. On the evening of October 4 Professor McClenahan addressed the teachers and officers of the Fourth Avenue Baptist Church, of Pittsburg, on the same subject.

On October 26 Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago, addressed the students of Highland Park College, Des Moines, Ia., on "High Ideals," the students of Des Moines College on "Thorough Work," and the Iowa Baptist Education Society on "Bible Study and Spiritual Growth." Professor Price is conducting a class in connection with the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., of Morgan Park Academy, in the study of "The Life of Christ."

At the recent meeting of the Baptist Congress, held in Chicago, Professor E. D. Burton presented a paper on the question, "Are the Teachings of the Apostles as Authoritative as those of Jesus?" This was followed by a discussion of the same subject by Professor Rush Rhees, of the Newton Theological Institution, also a member of the Council.

Commencing with January 1 the American Institute Studies in the *Sunday School Times* will be prepared by Professor Rush Rhees, of Newton Theological Institution. The gospel of Matthew will provide the material for a six-months' series.

The correspondence courses of the Institute reach comparatively few people because of the requirements of time and close study which they exact. Those who do undertake the work, however, find it more satisfactory than any mere outline work. The following statements from one or two of these students are interesting:

"I am now on my second course, and I can say that, speaking from an intellectual standpoint, I have never done any work that has developed independence of thought so much. For, though the Institute supplies guidance and stimulus, the student is made to do the work himself, and room is left for individual thought and development. A whole bibliography of theology is opened up and the results of biblical scholarship brought before one. And yet, while light from every source is welcomed, it is the Bible itself that one is taught to search and love — not to find confirmation of one's own preconceived

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ideas, but to find the truth which is to make us free, and, as that truth finds its perfect embodiment in the life and person of Christ, one is ever pointed to him, and the good of all the study is that we may bring our lives and hearts into living touch with him. And so, when I have sometimes become absorbed in the intellectual part of the work, the watchful instructor has put in a word here or there to remind one that truth must become vivified into one's own life and actions, and must not remain any mere abstract possession. I wish I could more adequately express what the Institute has been to me — I wish many more could be brought within its influence and take advantage of its benefits."

"If the first and greatest need of a course in Bible study is not so much reference to written works, compilation of material around the Bible, or the accumulation of these in the student's mind, but rather independence of thought, so that it shall become possible for him, first, to extract, analyze, and interpret for himself, and, then, by the help of books, modify and expand, then the correspondence courses of the Institute amply justify their existence and method. For the experience of the work is that one's own spiritual and intellectual powers are trained to their greater capacity, and one tastes the delight of thinking for oneself, as well as gathering from other minds.

"And although the detail of correspondence work must always be somewhat of a routine and irksome in comparison with recitation, it has decidedly the advantage, in training to accuracy of thought and purity of expression."

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Exploration and Discovery.

THE LATEST ACCESSIONS TO HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM.

THE latest accessions to Haskell Museum represent three fields of excavation, two of which were worked by the Egypt Exploration Fund and one by the Egyptian Research Account. Some of the results of these excavations have already been recounted in the BIBLICAL WORLD.[1] The materials acquired are almost solely from the oldest period— the Old Empire, at least 3000 to 2500 B. C., and possibly 1000 years older.

The excavations of the Egyptian Research Account at El Kab were under the charge of Mr. J. E. Quibell. His letter concerning them, and some account of the interesting city of El Kab, are already familiar to readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD. Nile tourists will recollect its massive walls, coming down to the water's edge, as they ascend from Luxor to the cataract.

"This south corner of the enclosure is separated from the rest by an irregular wall, and only within this smaller circuit are there the piles of pottery chips which show that a city has once existed. The greater part of the enclosure is bare, having only a chip of pottery here and there, and apparently has never been permanently inhabited. The town stands at the mouth of a great shallow valley, that once drained the high land which is now desert. On the north and south this is bounded by low hills of sandstone, which draw nearer together as one travels further up into the hills. One ridge to the north has been selected for the cemetery of the wealthy men of the eighteenth dynasty. There are the famous tombs of Paheri and Ahmes; and also many uninscribed tombs of the same style, five of which were used for our dwelling. To thoroughly excavate so large a site would require the expenditure of thousands of pounds, and we were forced to content ourselves by working the most promising parts. The great temples on the south corner of the town have already been planned by Mr. Somers

[1] March, 1897, pp. 219–20; May, 1897, pp. 380–4; August, pp. 151–5; Sepemtber, pp. 219–21.

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Clarke in previous years. This time we tried for the foundation deposits and found them. The small temple which lies outside the eastern gate was dug out and planned, as was also the small temple of Thothmes III, further to the north, which has only been destroyed within this century. Far out, up the watercourse, near the temple of Amenhotep III, search was made for the earlier temple which must have preceded that now standing. Pottery which had been used for offerings was found, also many fragments of inscriptions and one table of offerings. The suggestion of Professor Sayce that the earlier temple has been swept away by the occasional floods which do, from time to time, rush down the valley, seems most probable. But the greater part of our work lay nearer the river. East of the great wall the tourist sees a stretch of ground, pitted with robbed tombs, and strewn here and there with fragments of early pottery. This, as was clear when one first walked over it, is the cemetery of the Middle Empire. Inside the town, graves of much smaller size and of a different character were found; they were like most of the Libyans or Neolithic people found at Naqada, but the graves had been very thoroughly looted. Between these small tombs were remnants of mastabas; other mastabas in a better state of preservation were found covered by the great heap of sand which has drifted against the big north wall."[1]

The most notable accessions from Mr. Quibell's work on this place are the stone vessels, etc., in the top row in Fig. 1. At the extreme right of this row is a beautiful alabaster so-called "table," upon which the rich and noble were accustomed to eat. The splendid alabaster dishes on each side of the statues are 13¼ inches across, cut to a translucent thinness; the nicked dish on the left side is of a streaked red and white stone, cut to the thinness of ordinary window glass. The four bowls at the left end are of steel-hard diorite, beautifully veined, and cut so thin as to be translucent, a marvelous achievement with such intractable material. These vessels are all of the Old Empire and mostly of the IVth dynasty; they are, therefore, at least 5000 years old.

Mounted on cards at the base of the coffin is a series of Middle Empire beads (about 2000 B. C.) of amethyst, carnelian, hæmatite, garnet, and glaze. Strung with them is a beautiful amethyst scarab, one of green feldspar, two of carnelian, and one of hæmatite.

The especial usefulness of Mr. Quibell's work is in aiding us in

[1] *Catalogue of Antiquities from Excavations at Deshasheh and Behnesa* (*E. E. F.*) *and El Kab* (*E. R. A.*), exhibited at University College, London, July 1 to 31, 1897, pp. 5–6.

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FIG. 1.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE LATEST ACCESSIONS TO HASKELL MUSEUM
From the Excavations of Petrie at Deshasheh for the Egypt Exploration Fund, and Quibell at El Kab for the Egyptian Research Account. Date, circa 3000 B.C.

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dating materials from the Old Empire, for he has determined within very narrow limits the period of many objects of hitherto unknown date.

The work of the Egypt Exploration Fund embraced chiefly the excavation of the two sites, Deshasheh and Behneseh. "Beside the long exploratory work of going over the country between Minieh and the Fayum, Mr. Petrie also excavated the cemetery of the fifth dynasty near the modern village of Deshasheh, about eighty miles south of Cairo; the ancient town to which this belonged is unknown. The tombs extend over half a mile of low hills in the desert, two miles from the cultivation. About 150 tombs were discovered, but nearly all had been plundered in early times."[1] The coffin (Fig. 1) is that of the lady Mery, of royal birth and "priestess of Hathor." It is of sycamore wood, put together piecemeal. Owing to the scarcity of wood in ancient Egypt it was a difficult matter to work out a clear plank, and it was usually necessary to make such a plank out of pieces put together with dowel pins, or a mortise and tenon. These may be seen in the illustration, in the side of the coffin. The corners were skillfully mitred, drilled and lashed together with thongs. All cracks were then filled, the surface stuccoed and smoothed and the inscriptions and paintings added. On the inside, these consist of mortuary furniture, like necklaces and ointment jars, on the outside a mortuary prayer down the center of the lid and along the sides and ends. At the head (the right-hand end) on the deceased lady's left were painted a pair of eyes, by which she looked forth on the world she had left. The coffin is of the fifth dynasty, at a minimum nearly 3000 years B. C.

At the foot of the coffin (the left end) are the skull and other bones of the lady, the flesh having been removed before burial.[2] Her breast bone had been broken and reunited in life. The wooden sandals on the floor were in the coffin, together with the wooden head-rest at their left. The latter is grained to represent costly wood and is inscribed with Mery's name and titles. Along with this coffin was found also the painted board in the middle of Fig. 1 and more in detail in Fig. 2. It was customary from the Old Empire (fourth to sixth dynasties) on to place with the mummy models often exquisitely rendered, representing in miniature the servants of the deceased, with the intention that they should serve him in the hereafter as they had done in this world. This was accomplished by means of the magic pronounced

[1] *Catalogue*, p. 11.

[2] See PETRIE, "Eaten with Honor," *Contemporary Review*, 1897.

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over them. This painted board is intended to take the place of these miniatures; the servants carry baskets of provisions or jars suspended on yokes; on the right is a Nile boat with swelling sail, the pilot with his sounding pole standing in the bow just as at the present day to

FIG. 2.—PAINTED BOARD
Found with the Coffin of the Royal Lady, Mery. Date, circa 3000 B. C.

look out for shoals, while the helmsman astern is operating the double rudder or steering oar. Two tame monkeys have climbed into the rigging, and one is perched comfortably at the masthead. At the left is another boat propelled by paddles. The whole forms a very living Nile scene 5000 years ago. On the other side are servants engaged in cooking and the like, but it is not so well preserved. The work is crude, of course, but the piece is without parallel; it is unique among mortuary paintings. Curiously enough the string by which it was hung up in the tomb is still attached to one of the eyelets at the top edge, and, as far as appearance is concerned, might have been put on last week instead of 5000 years ago.

The two statues in the center of Fig. 1, reproduced on a larger scale in Fig. 3, are such as have come to be called Ka-statues. The Egyptians believed that for the survival of a person after death there must be some material substance which should connect the deceased's double with the world of real and tangible things; hence the embalmment of the body that it might serve as this link, to which the surviving double of the dead might still attach itself just as it had done

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while the body lived. But lest the embalmed body should at some time perish and the double with it, they finally made what we may call "false bodies" of stone, in other words, imperishable stone portrait statues, of the dead which they deposited in the tomb, and to one of these the double might attach itself and live on indefinitely. This was the great motive which already in prehistoric times developed portrait sculpture to a remarkable degree, and in the earliest historic period created portrait statues which even classical archæologists affirm have never been surpassed even in the present day. Such were the two figures of our illustration. Of their discovery Mr. Petrie says: "The most important discovery at Deshasheh was the *serdab* or statue-chamber of a great tomb belonging to a ruler of the district, named Nenkheftka. He was 'prince of the southern town of the Oryx,' and 'royal priest;' his wife was named Neferseshems, and his son Nenkheftek, which is probably only a variant of writing the father's name. Another Nenkheftka, with a son Nenkheftek, is known from a tomb at Saqqara; these two were probably the grandfathers of the two generations found here. A large tomb had been built on the top of a spur of the hill; but the whole of the masonry has been removed for stone. In one corner of the platform a small pit led to a chamber in the rock, now partly filled with sand. In this lay the broken statues, and in a recess at the side were found the heads of the larger statues, and several pieces placed together. These heads were happily perfect."[1] Six statues of Nenkheftka in all were taken out, beside one of his wife and including our group. It is of limestone, 26½ inches high. The man is represented in the conventional posture with both arms hanging straight down, but not with left foot thrust forward as usual. He wears the stiff apron with triangular front, a curled wig covering the ears, and a broad necklace. His face is too abraded to note its expression, but the contour of the throat and chin is firm and beautiful. His wife stands with her right arm thrown affectionately across her husband's shoulders, the tips of her fingers showing slightly beyond his right shoulder, and her left hand across her breast. She wears the prevailing garment of women in the Old and Middle Empire, a long closely fitting robe, supported by straps over the shoulders divided in a V at the breast and reaching almost to the ankles; about her neck is a necklace, and the wig is long and straight, covering the ears. The expression of her face is winning and tells of good-natured sufferance. This expression is, of course, heightened by the color which was always

[1] *Catalogue*, p. 14.

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added to such statues with very vivacious effect, especially when the eyes were of inlaid crystal, as in the larger statues. The carnation or flesh tint of the lady is a light yellow, that of the man a dark brown; the same difference is sometimes found on Greek vases. Both figures

FIG. 3.—EGYPTIAN NOBLEMAN NENKHEFTKA AND HIS WIFE NEFESESHEMS
Vth dynasty, 3500 to circa 3000 B. C.

are engaged with a plinth which supports them behind. On the whole, the modeling is very good; that of the lady's feet is especially fine, as the feet are usually considered a very weak point in Egyptian sculpture. Despite the conventional stiffness that pervades the whole, and the damage which the vicissitudes of 5000 years have wrought, one

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cannot but feel the impressiveness of looking into faces which so long ago laughed away the days under the sunny skies of the Nile valley — an impressiveness which is never lost upon the present writer, even after years of work among such materials.

The bases of two similar statues, bearing the names and titles of Nenkheftka and his wife, are lying on the table (Fig. 1) at the head of the coffin; at their right as a dark rounded mass in the illustration is a stonecutter's mallet found in an unfinished tomb, and deeply worn in a zone around its middle by blows upon the bronze chisel. It is in appearance precisely like those in use among stonecutters of the present day. Another mallet for use with a wooden chisel in loosening the compact gravel is not so deeply worn. Supplementing these tools are three stones, bearing upon the flat sides thick deposits of green copper salts, showing that they were the stones upon which the workmen sharpened their bronze chisels from time to time.

At the foot of the coffin, on the floor, is a reed basket used for food offerings in the tomb.

With the remarkable results of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's excavations at Behneseh, the second site of the Egypt Exploration Fund, our readers are already familiar. The mass of Greek papyri which they unearthed is perhaps more extensive even than those of the Fayum combined. Some of these have also just been installed in Haskell Museum and are of the greatest interest. A few of the labels now attached will show the character of some of them.[1]

Letter from Isidorus to Aurelius, giving directions about cultivating his orchard, etc.; third century, A. D.

Official letter addressed to the Agoranomoi of Oxyrhynchus by Apollonius, stating that by request of the strategus he had handed over to Ptolema the will she had made ten years previously; 116 A. D.

Letter from Theopompus to Sarapion, strategus of the upper division of the Sebennyte nome, explaining that he had sent him an ounce of purple dye; third century, A. D.

Letter from Demetrius to his father, Heracleides, blaming him for not sending twelve baskets of fodder and requesting that they be dispatched at once; third or fourth century, A. D.

Order for payment of 2000 drachmæ issued by Aurelius Theon to Chæreammon. Dated Pharmouthi 21st of the 2d year; second or third century, A. D.

Six-years' lease of thirty arouræ of land by Dionysia and her son

[1] From Mr. B. P. Grenfell.

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Apion to Psenamounis. The yearly rental is fixed at ninety artabæ of wheat, with the additional money payment of twelve drachmæ; 143 A. D.

Vellum fragment of the New Testament. Mark 10:50–51 and 11:11–12; fifth or sixth century, A. D.

Letter from Chæreas to Dionysius urging him to make out his horoscope, to sell some slaves and other property; second or third century, A. D.

Letter addressed to Sarapion and Achillion by Diogenes and Lucius, requesting that three talents should be paid to them, as they had been appointed to repair the baths of Hadrian at Oxyrhyncus; 201 A. D.

Letter from Diogenes to his sister Heliodora, announcing his arrival at Memphis.

Homer, *Iliad*, II, 745–64; first to second century A. D.[1]

As a whole, these accessions are the most interesting as yet received by Haskell Museum. Those from Deshasheh and Behneseh are due to the efforts of the ladies of the Philosophy and Science department of the Chicago Woman's Club. Their movement has merged with the work of Mrs. C. L. Hutchinson in Chicago for the E. E. F., and has resulted in the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research, which purposes to bring such accessions as these to Haskell with every season's work. They expect to hold their first annual reception and exhibition in Haskell Museum on the 3rd of December. All who desire to assist in this movement may address the undersigned at the University of Chicago.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

[1] These papyri have been kindly loaned by the Egypt Exploration Fund for the coming exhibit of the Chicago Society of Egyptian Research; the distribution of the papyri has not been made.

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Work and Workers.

DEAN FARRAR has published another book. Its title is *The Herods.*

Ecclesiasticus (*xxxix. 15 to xlix. 11*) has been published in a cheap popular edition by the Clarendon Press.

REV. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, D.D., has been elected to the chair of biblical interpretation at Amherst College.

DR. R. F. HORTON has recently issued the *Women of the Old Testament*, a small volume in *The Popular Biblical Library.*

DILLMANN'S *Genesis*, translated from the last German edition, has just appeared from the presses of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

CANON LIDDON'S *Life of E. B. Pusey* has just been completed by the issuance of Vol. IV, by Longmans, Green & Co. (New York).

THE KERR LECTURES for 1897, on *The Christ of History and of Experience*, by Rev. David W. Forrest, M.A., have appeared in book form.

PROFESSOR DRIVER'S *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* has appeared in a sixth edition, "revised throughout and entirely reset."

DR. DAVID SOMERVILLE is the author of the Cunningham Lectures (16th series) on *St. Paul's Conception of Christ; or the Doctrine of the Second Adam.*

"THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES" is the latest addition to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.* Revs. W. Fairweather and J. S. Block are the editors.

THE *Bible for Home and School* is the title of the English edition now appearing of Bartlett and Peters' *Bible for Young Readers*, issued in this country several years ago.

TWO new volumes of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* have appeared: "Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah," by Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., of Edinburgh; and "Joel and Amos," by Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., of Oxford.

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PROFESSOR T. K. CHEYNE, of Oxford, has already begun his tour of lecturing in the United States. His fame as a critic and exegete of the Psalms and of Isaiah will command a large hearing for him at the deliverance of his lectures on "The Religion of Israel."

Studia Sinaitica, No. VI, entitled "A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles," has just appeared from the skilled workmanship of Mrs. A. S. Lewis, Professor E. Nestle, and Mrs. M. D. Gibson.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE'S restless industry has produced another work in his special line of research. Macmillan's have announced for early publication *The Early History of the Hebrews.* This work will bring the record down to the conquest of Canaan and the age of the Judges.

PROFESSOR A. A. BEVAN, of Cambridge, has reviewed Hommel's *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* in the *Critical Review* for October; and concludes, after a somewhat detailed examination of its contents, that the "work is essentially speculative; instead of bringing the theories of modern biblical critics to the test of facts, he offers us a new set of theories."

The Independent of November 4 has a stimulating editorial on "How to Study the Bible." It takes its keynote from a remark of a guide to an American visitor in the Jewish schools at Baghdad. It sharply discriminates between a religious and a scientific study of the sacred Scriptures. It shows that the former is search for our duty to God and to man, and the latter is little more than intellectual gymnastics, is no more pious than a scientific study of Homer or some other ancient classic.

DR. SCHECHTER, of Cambridge, Eng., is now a carefully watched satellite of learning. Since he brought back from Egypt his tons of boxes and bags of old books and manuscripts, he has been diligently sorting them out. Each day's work yields some discovery of great importance. His own story of the find is to be read in *The Independent* of November 4.

PROFESSOR EDWARD KÖNIG, of Rostock, whose *Lehrgebäude* has been appearing at intervals for fifteen years, has just completed, and Hinrichs, of Leipzig, is publishing, his *Syntax der hebräischen Sprache.* This is the last part of the most comprehensive Hebrew grammar in existence. We heartily congratulate the indefatigable grammarian on the issuance of this concluding volume.

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REV. THOMAS PRYDE, M.A., Blantyre, Glasgow, Scotland, communicates the following:

Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow, has begun a series of lectures to ministers in the Christian Institute there. The lectures will be delivered on the Monday afternoons during November and December. The subject is "The Poetry of Israel," and the printed syllabus is as follows:

I and II. The Race and the Language; Genius and Characteristics of the Semites; Their Religion and Views of the Next Life; Semitic Origin of Israel; Hebrew as a Vehicle of Poetry; The Rhythms and Parallelisms; Convenience for Translation.

III. The Poetry of Nature in the Old Testament; The Aspects of Nature Treated by It; From the Desert to the Sea; The Rise of Mythology, chiefly under the influence of the latter; Cosmogonies; Poetry of the Animal World; Place of Man in Nature.

IV. The Early National Poetry of Israel; The Pre-national Pieces; The Philosophy of History to Which They Contribute in Genesis; The Songs of the Exodus and of the Entrance to Canaan; Deborah; Balaam.

V. David: Fact and Question.

VI. The Development of the Psalter; Poetry of National Life and Worship — of Exile, Complaint, of Death and the Hope of Another Life.

VII. The Poetry of Wisdom—(1) The Rise of Wisdom in Israel, and Its Contrast with Prophecy; Didactic Wisdom; The Book of Proverbs.

VIII. The Poetry of Wisdom—(2) The Speculative Wisdom; The Book of Job.

The lecturer for 1896 was Rev. James Orr, D.D., Professor in the United Presbyterian Hall, Edinburgh, and for 1895 Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh, so that the three Presbyterian churches in Scotland provide a lecturer in turn. The ministers are from all the churches. The attendance at the opening lecture numbered obout eighty, among whom were several laymen.

NOTICE—The editors of the BIBLICAL WORLD have in type an article entitled "The Origin and Character of Deuteronomy," from which the author's name has in some way become detached. They would be greatly obliged if the author of the paper would communicate with them, that it may be published.

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Book Reviews.

The Social Teaching of Jesus. By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897. Pp. 235. $1.50. Sold by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

THERE is first of all a careful limitation of the discussion to the actual teachings of Jesus. "Just as the philosophies bearing their names are respectively the gifts of Hegel and Aristotle and Bacon, so Christian sociology should mean the sociology of Christ; that is, the social philosophy and teachings of the historical person, Jesus the Christ."

Since the nature and possibilities of social organization depend on the constitution and powers of human beings, we are led to consider the teaching of Jesus in reference to man's capacity for union. Society already exists, but Jesus has in mind better things, an ideal society, which he calls "the Kingdom of God." The very phrase suggests social relations. The definition of the Kingdom is "an ideal social order, in which the relation of men to God is that of sons, and to each other, that of brothers." This definition requires a statement of the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood. The doctrine of Jesus does not exclude a general idea of paternal relations to all humanity, but it lays emphasis on a deep, intensive, and ethical union, in which the filial spirit consciously responds to the parental love. This statement is carefully balanced and will help to still idle controversies about mere words.

The divine social order is already potentially established in the world and is slowly to realize itself unto its consummation. In the process of this realization the Kingdom of God recognizes social institutions which belong to the providential order of the world: the family, the state, industry, and health, social intercourse. On each of these subjects Jesus gave teachings by word and deed—his very silence being sometimes significant.

The directly objective method of treatment keeps the author clear of those obscure and indefinable teachings by which some zealous men are confusing the whole subject and bringing "Christian sociology" into contempt. It is only too common to assume certain modes of social organization to be wise and helpful and then seek for them the

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sanction of the authority of Christ. It would be far better to let each recommendation rest on its own inherent adaptation to human wants and not load Christianity with the responsibility for individual speculations and experimental inventions.

Thoroughly sound is the author's conclusion that the primary social function of the church is to transform and fraternize society by working as directly as possible upon the higher nature of man, without excluding the value of other agencies of progress in which disciples of the Master may properly engage.

It is to be hoped that the same writer will give to us a similar study of the social teachings of the epistles. C. R. HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE American Baptist Publication Society announces a *Pronouncing Teacher's Bible*, bound in flexible morocco, in every way perfect. Its chief feature consists in the separation of each proper name into syllables, with its appropriate accent. The price is $3.25, postpaid, and the binding is guaranteed by the society for one year. The same society has published a new and revised edition of the *Harmony of the Acts of the Apostles* by George W. Clarke, D.D. The text used is that of the Baptist Publication Society, and is arranged in such a way as to give a continuous history of the life of Paul, without the insertion of his epistles. The text is followed by a number of discussions as to the chronological questions involved, and an entirely new part of the book consists of the addition of the epistles of the New Testament in their chronological order. We notice that in the map prefixed to the volume the North Gelatin theory is retained. The preface states that the ground for this lies in the author's belief that the southern theory is not sufficiently established.

Another volume published by the society contains five addresses by Nathan Shepard, *Heroic Stature*, in which he deals with Luther, John Wesley, Norman MacLeod, Finney, and Latimer. In these essays he has combined a number of interesting anecdotes, and they are written in Mr. Shepard's characteristic style. It would pay any clergyman to read these essays, especially those upon MacLeod and Finney. And in this connection attention may once more be called to Mr. Shepard's earlier book, *Before an Audience*, as one containing much sensible advice to public speakers.

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Prospectus of the Biblical World

1898

The Editors of the Biblical World, in arranging for the Sixteenth Year of the magazine and the Eleventh and the Twelfth Volumes of the new series, are desirous of making the magazine of practical service to all classes of Bible students. To that end the contents in the new number have been planned with the special purpose of furnishing material that shall be of varied service and of value to the younger members of the Sunday school, as well as to the teacher and pastor. The magazine will furnish, among others, articles and departments as follows:

For Clergymen:

A new and special feature of the year will be articles by prominent pastors upon "Expository Preaching," with criticisms of sermon plans actually prepared by students preparing for the ministry. Several prominent teachers in theological seminaries have already agreed to furnish criticisms. In order to make these studies of the utmost practical value, within reasonable limits, clergymen who are desirous of having their own plans of sermon criticised on exegetical and homiletic grounds are at liberty to send them to the editors of the magazine, the editors reserving the right of publishing such plans and criticisms as may seem of special interest.

For Sunday-school Teachers:

The editorials for the year, although by no means exclusively limited to such topics, will especially deal with matters connected with instruction in the Sunday school. Among others, they will treat of such subjects as:

The aim of instruction in Sunday school; is it to instruct or convert pupils?

Should a Sunday school be graded with promotion from grade to grade?

The element of worship in Sunday-school services.

Benevolence and self-support in the Sunday school.

Ought adults to remain in Sunday school or to graduate when they have completed the course, as from college?

The qualifications for teachers in the Sunday school.

Should there be large classes and a few good teachers, or small classes and many teachers?

In addition to these editorials, arrangements have been made by which a prominent teacher in English literature will furnish several pages of EXTRACTS FROM THE BEST ENGLISH LITERATURE, illustrating some of the most important of the International Sunday-school Lessons. References to further illustrative material in general literature will also be given.

THE PROGRESS OF POPULAR BIBLE STUDY IN GREAT BRITAIN will be described by PRINCIPAL T. WITTON DAVIES, of Nottingham, England, and the REV. GEORGE STEVEN, of Edinburgh, Scotland.

For Theological Students:

The important question, What Ought a Student of the Ministry to Study in College? will be answered by PRESIDENT W. J. TUCKER, Dartmouth College; PROFESSOR W. A. STEVENS, Rochester Theological Seminary; PRESIDENT W. R. HARPER, The University of Chicago.

(See next page.)

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For Bible Readers:

A series of articles has been promised on "The Character and Influence of Jesus," especially intended for members of the *Bible "Readers' Guild."* The series began in September, 1897, and, when completed, will contain the following articles:

"*Jesus as a Teacher*," PRESIDENT CHAS. T. THWING, Western Reserve University.
"*Jesus as a Thinker*," PROFESSOR E. D. BURTON, The University of Chicago.
"*Jesus as a Prophet*," PROFESSOR SYLVESTER BURNHAM, Colgate University.
"*Jesus as an Organizer of Men*," PROFESSOR WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH, Rochester Theological Seminary.
"*Jesus as a Man of Affairs*," AUSTIN BIERBOWER, ESQ., Chicago.
"*The Influence of Jesus on Social Institutions*," PROFESSOR C. R. HENDERSON, The University of Chicago.
"*The Influence of Jesus on Political Institutions*," PROFESSOR H. P. JUDSON, The University of Chicago.
"*The Influence of Jesus on the Doctrine of God*," PROFESSOR G. B. FOSTER, The University of Chicago.
"*Jesus' Consciousness of Himself*," PROFESSOR W. D. MCKENZIE, Chicago Theological Seminary.

For General Readers:

The following articles have been promised upon the Cities of the Bible:

"*Nazareth*," DR. SELAH MERRILL.
"*Capernaum*," DR. SELAH MERRILL.
"*Jerusalem: Its Historical Association*," DR. SELAH MERRILL.
"*Jerusalem: Its Topography and Identifications*," DR. SELAH MERRILL.
"*Ephesus*," PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, Aberdeen, Scotland.
"*Corinth*," PROFESSOR EDWARD CAPPS.
"*Babylon: Its Historical Association*," PROFESSOR IRA M. PRICE.
"*Babylon: Its Topography and Identifications*," PROFESSOR ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

Other articles will be prepared by REV. DR. PHILIP S. MOXOM, Springfield, Mass.; REV. DR. AMORY H. BRADFORD, Montclair, N. J.; REV. DR. GEORGE E. MERRILL, Newton, Mass.; PROFESSOR A. F. KIRKPATRICK; REV. ROBERT MACKINTOSH, and REV. DR. W. E. GRIFFIS.

For Students of Sacred Art:

MR. JOHN P. LENOX has agreed to furnish a series of reproductions of the most noted modern pictures illustrating Bible instruction. He will also furnish a brief description of these reproductions, and it is believed that this feature will be one of the most attractive of the year.

The Departments:

"Work and Workers," together with the "Council of Seventy," will furnish the latest news as to what Bible scholars and teachers are undertaking and accomplishing. "Notes and Opinions" will contain fresh and interesting comment upon matters of current interest. "Exploration and Discovery" will continue to furnish the latest reports from the most important fields of archæological work.

"Current Literature" will remain, as it has been in the past, one of the most leading features of the periodical, while in "Book Reviews" the editors will endeavor to furnish impartial and independent criticism upon literature of value.

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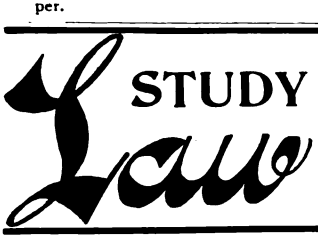

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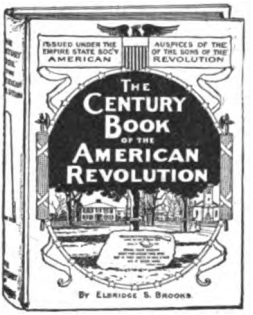

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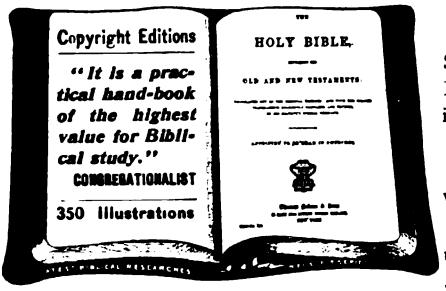

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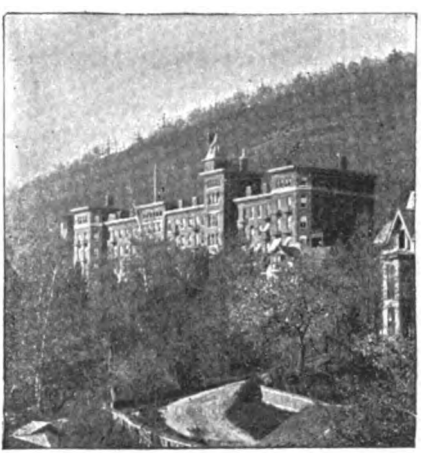

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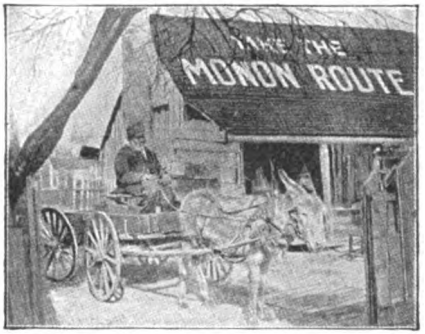

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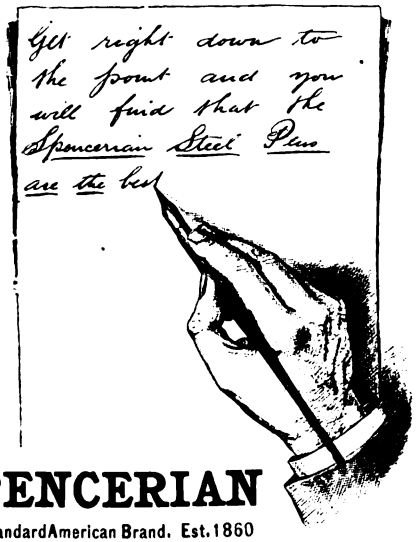

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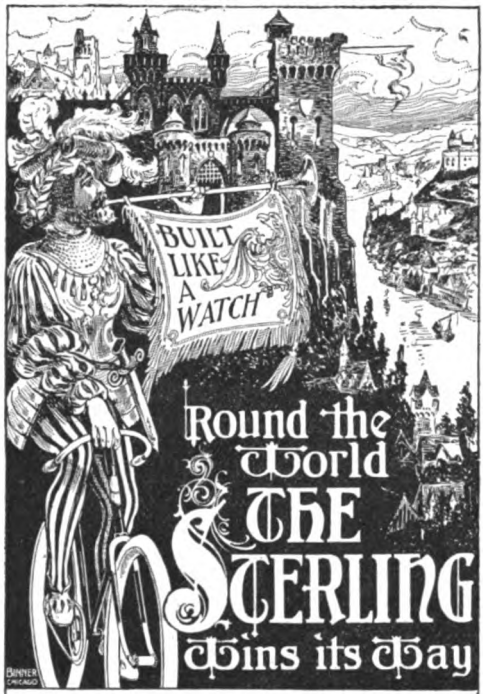

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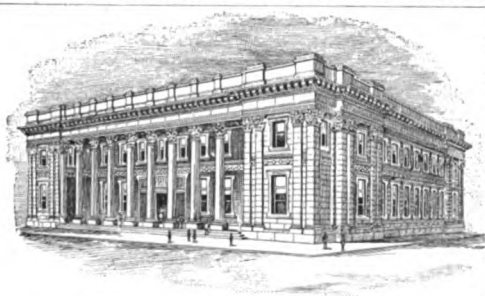

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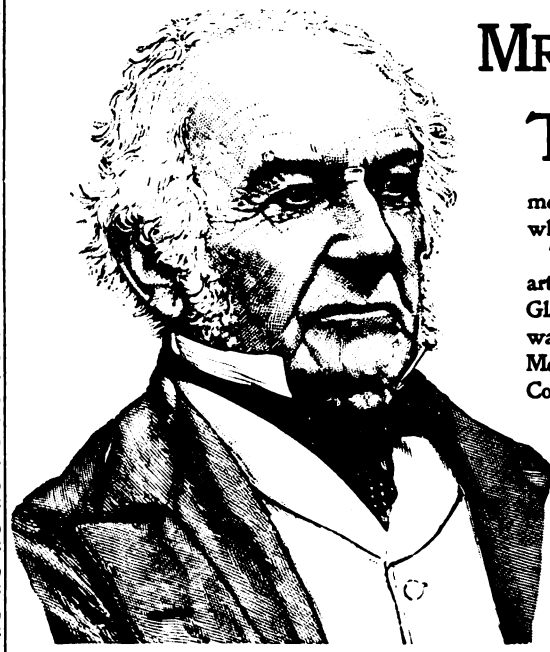

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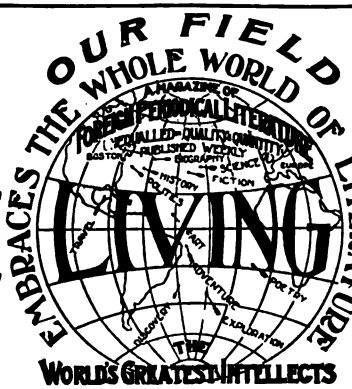

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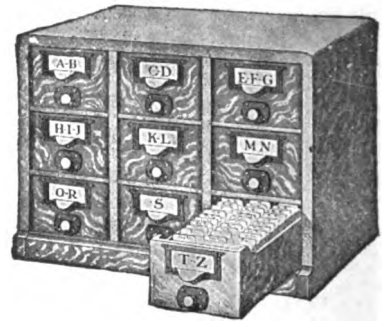

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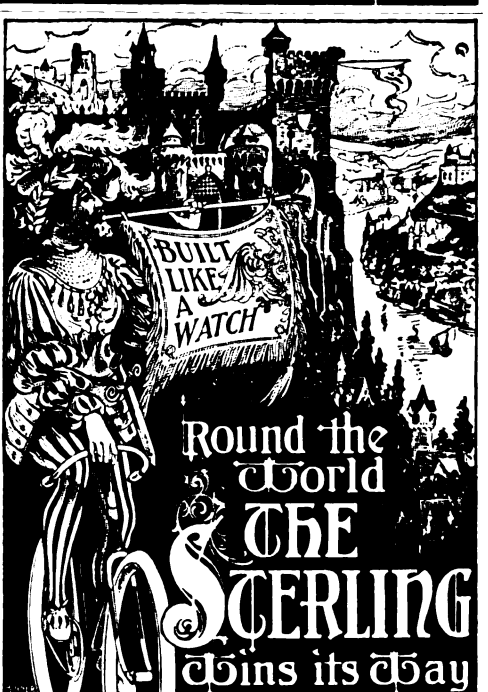

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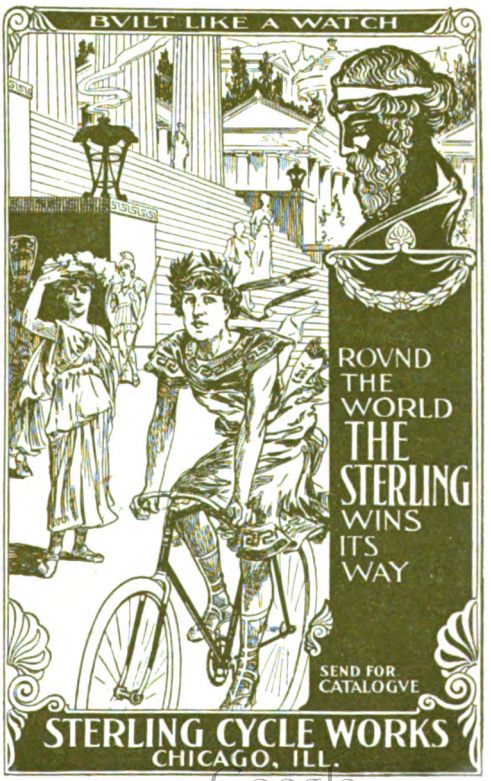

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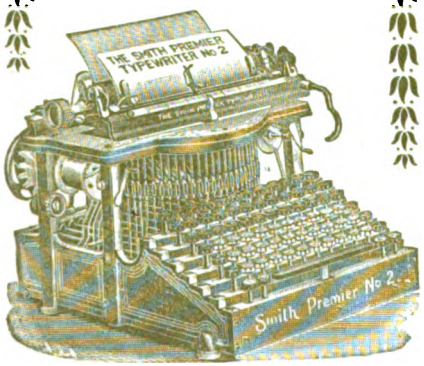

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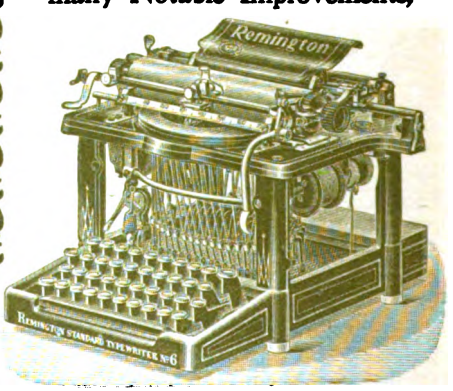

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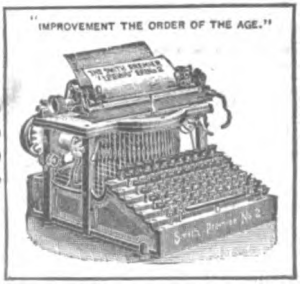

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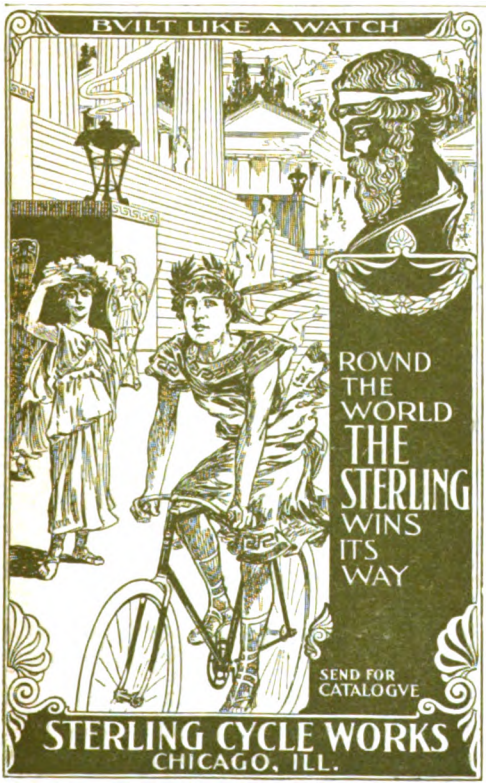

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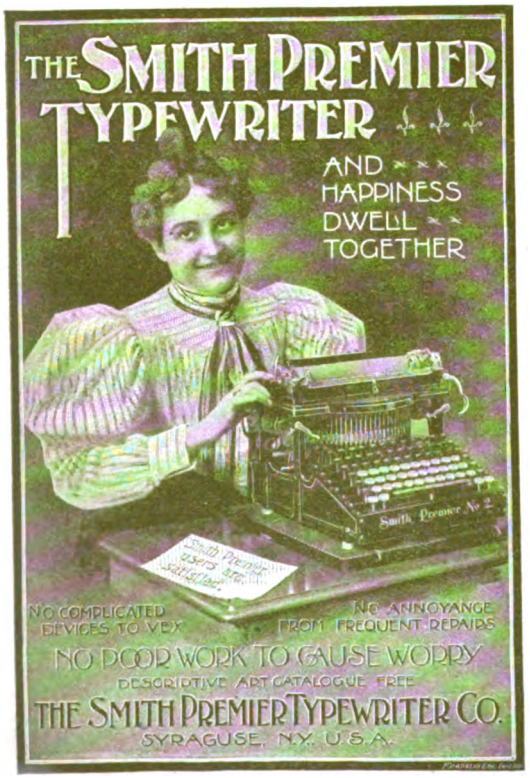

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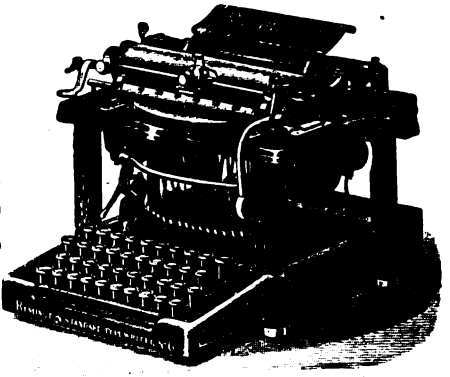

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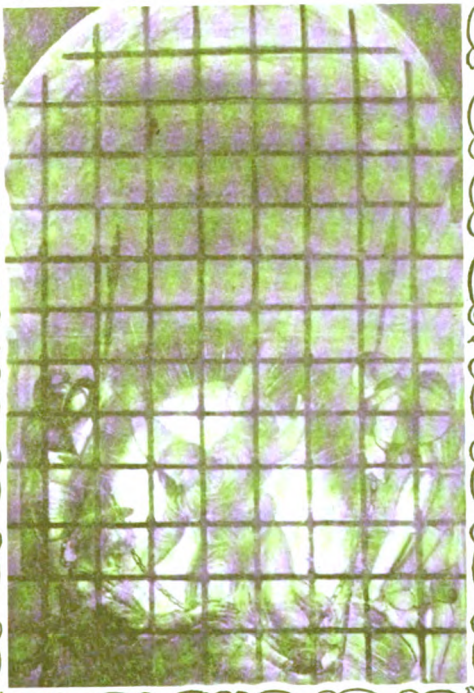

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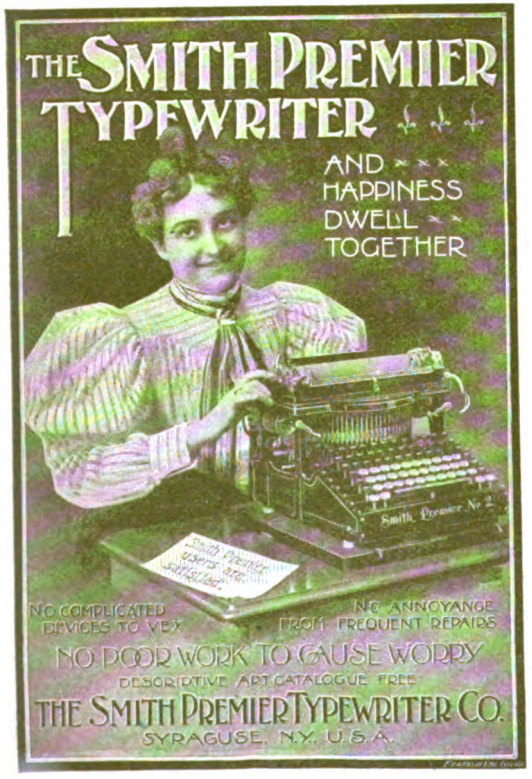

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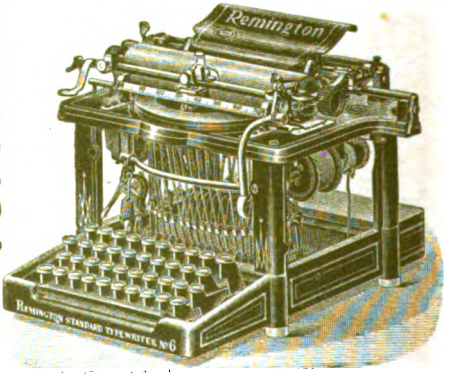

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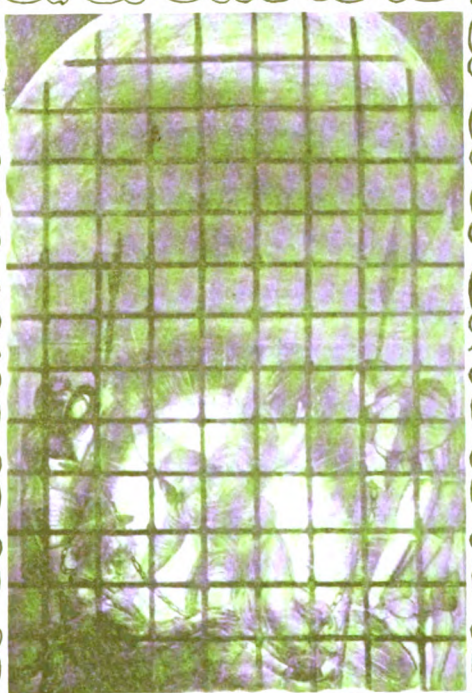

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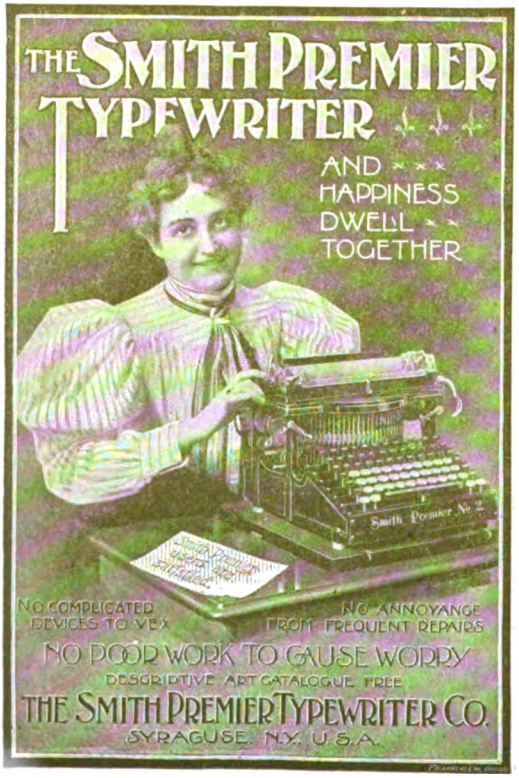

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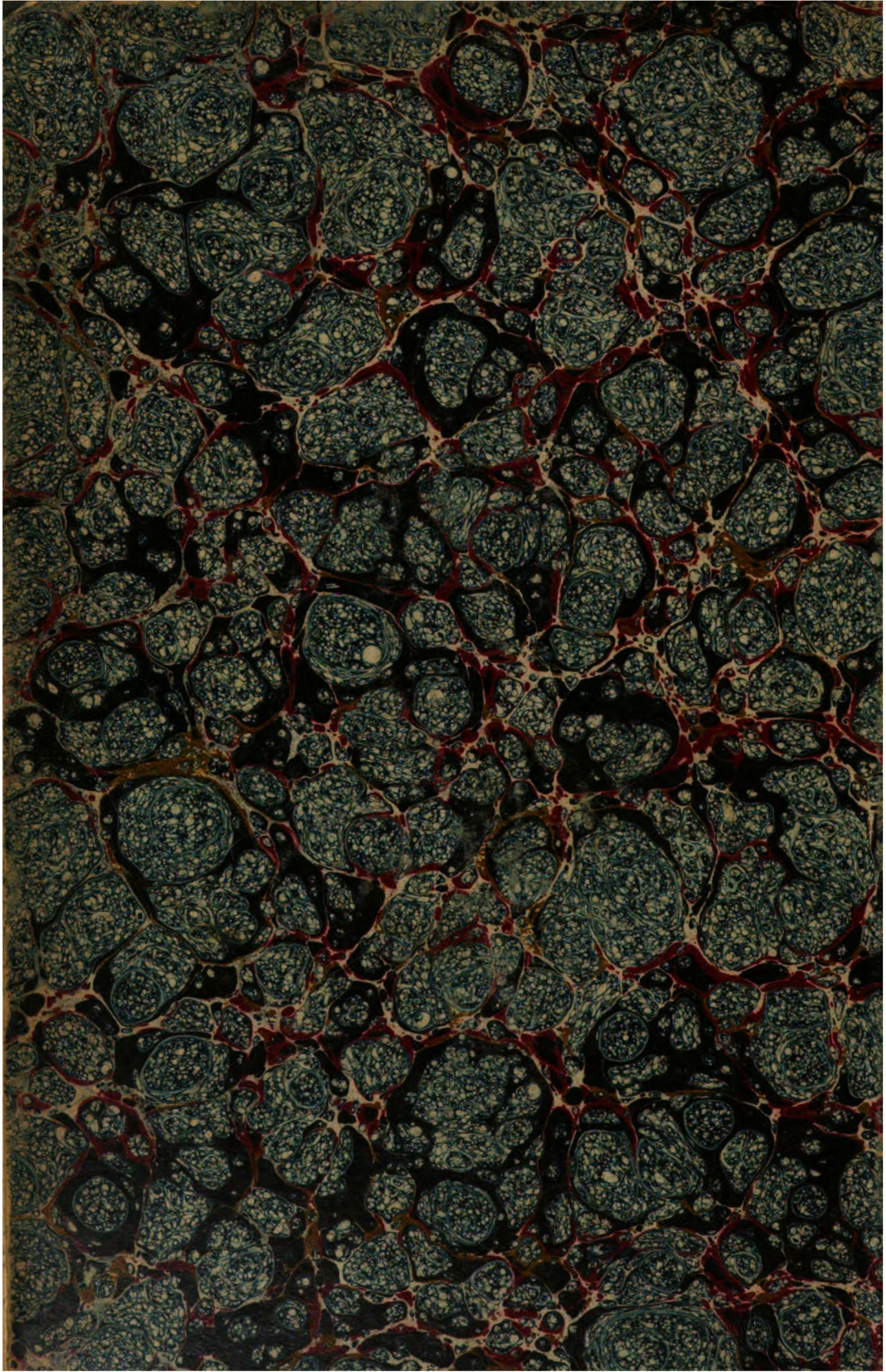
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